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LEADERS of the CHURCH



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LIDDON



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LEADERS OF THE CHURCH

1800—1900

EDITED BY

GEORGE W. E. RUSSELL

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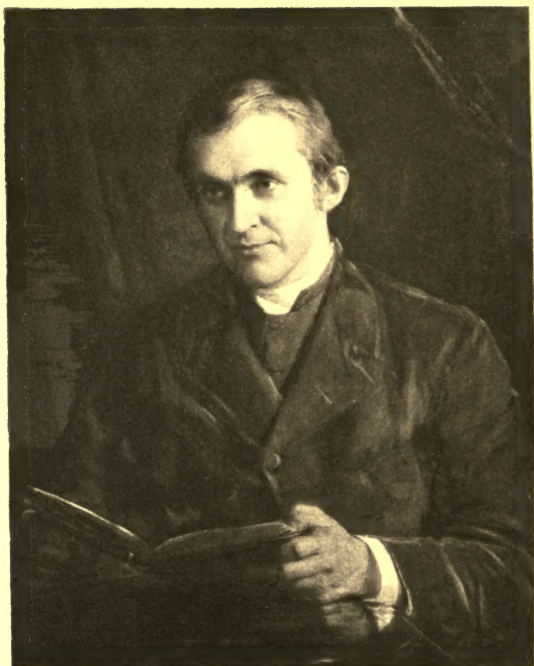
DEAN CHURCH.

By D. C. Lathbury.

BISHOP WILBERFORCE.

By R. G. Wilberforce.

OTHERS IN PREPARATION.



John Addington Symonds.

*From a painting by George Richmond R.A. (1870-72) in the possession of
Keble College, Oxford.*

LEADERS OF THE CHURCH

1800-1900

EDITED BY GEORGE W. E. RUSSELL

DR. LIDDON

BY

G. W. E. RUSSELL



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TO MY FRIEND
LOUIS KERCHEVAL HILTON,
RECTOR OF SEMLEY,
IN REMEMBRANCE OF
HAPPY DAYS AT OXFORD.

GENERAL PREFACE.

IT seems expedient that the origin and scope of this new Series of Biographies should be briefly explained.

Messrs. A. R. Mowbray and Co. had formed the opinion that Ecclesiastical Biography is apt to lose in attractiveness and interest, by reason of the technical and professional spirit in which it is generally handled. Acting on this opinion, they resolved to publish some short Lives of "Leaders of the Modern Church," written exclusively by laymen. They conceived that a certain freshness might thus be imparted to subjects already more or less familiar, and that a class of readers, who are repelled by the details of ecclesiasticism, might be attracted by a more human, and in some sense a more secular, treatment of religious lives.

This conception of Ecclesiastical Biography agreed entirely with my own prepossessions; and I gladly acceded to the publishers' request that I would undertake the general superintendence of the series. I am not without the hope that these handy and readable books may be of some service to the English clergy. They set forth the impressions produced on

the minds of devout and interested lay-people by the characters and careers of some great ecclesiastics. It seems possible that a knowledge of those impressions may stimulate and encourage that "interest in public affairs, in the politics and welfare of the country," and in "the civil life of the people," which Cardinal Manning noted as the peculiar virtue of the English Priesthood; and the lack of which he deplored as one of the chief defects of the Priesthood over which he himself presided.¹

G. W. E. RUSSELL.

S. Mary Magdalene's Day,
1905.

¹ See "Hindrances to the Spread of the Catholic Church in England," at the end of Purcell's *Life of Cardinal Manning*.

NOTE.

IT will be seen at a glance that this book does not attempt to compete with the *Life and Letters of Henry Parry Liddon, D.D.*, compiled by the Rev. J. O. Johnston, Principal of Cuddesdon. It is intended merely to supplement the larger book in some small matters of detail; and I desire to testify my deep obligations to the accuracy and thoroughness of Mr. Johnston's work.

In describing Dr. Liddon's opinions, I have of course made free use of his published writings. In attempting to estimate his character and gifts, I have relied mainly on the friendship with which he honoured me: it began in my first term at Oxford, and lasted till his death. I am greatly indebted to members of his family for their encouragement and help; and to several of his friends, outside the domestic circle, who have given me similar assistance.

G. W. E. R.

All Souls' Day,
1905.

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ERRATA.

- p. 13, Note, *for* "bear" *read* "bears."
- p. 100, line 2, *for* "Liddon" *read* "Churchmen."
- p. 117, line 4, *for* "but" *read* "that."
- p. 150, line 28, *for* "to" *read* "too."
- p. 151, line 5, *substitute* "reads Joshua for the Adorable Name in."
- p. 153, Note, *for* "tone" *read* "tune."
- p. 174, line 1, *for* "Archbishop Tait" *read* "a hostile Archbishop."
- p. 182, line 24, *for* "scene" *read* "name."

Leaders of the Church

1800-1900



DR. LIDDON.

CHAPTER I.

BEGINNINGS—ORDINATION—CUDDESDON.

"LIDDON is half a Frenchman." Vary the phrase by occasionally substituting "an Italian" for "a Frenchman," and you have the short and easy formula in which, in 1870, the world summarized its impressions of a new and astonishing force in the religious life of London.¹ Some show of plausibility was lent to the statement by the great preacher's olive skin, jet-black hair, and piercing eyes; some by the vehemence of his rhetorical manner; some by the structure and method of the arresting orations in which he had sought to deliver his hearers from "perplexities which beset an age of feverish scepticism." But it was all delusion. In spite of his complexion and his rhetoric,

¹ See page 33.

Liddon was as thoroughbred an Englishman as could be found between the Solent and the Bristol Channel. His ancestors had long been settled in the south-western part of England. His father, Matthew Liddon, was an officer in the Royal Navy, and had served with distinction under Captain, afterwards Sir Edward, Parry in the attempt to discover the North-West Passage.¹ On his retirement from active service, Captain Liddon married Ann Bilke, and established himself at North Stoneham, near Basingstoke. Here their eldest son, HENRY PARRY LIDDON, was born on August 20th, 1829, and was baptized on the 26th of September. Captain Parry was one of the Godfathers, and bestowed his name upon the child.

It is worthy of note, and should be stated at the very outset, that the religious influences which governed Henry Liddon's infancy and youth were profoundly Evangelical. At his mother's knee he learned the vital lesson that "other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is JESUS CHRIST;" and on that impregnable rock the whole superstructure of his life and work was built.

In 1832 the Liddons moved to Colyton, and in 1839 Henry Liddon was sent to a boarding-school at Lyme Regis. His tastes and habits at school were remarkably unlike those of the normal schoolboy. He played

¹ A bay in the west of Melville Island was named by Parry "Liddon Gulf."

no games, and eschewed all athletic exercises except swimming. He collected coins, read military history, wrote dramas and acted them, wrote sermons and sent them to his maiden aunt. The tone of his theology was still strictly Evangelical, and markedly Anti-Roman. In 1844 he went to London, to enter King's College School, and boarded with one of the Assistant Masters. What was he like in those early days? Let his school-fellow, Mr. Frederic Harrison, reply: "He was much my senior, and very old of his years, so there was no kind of school-intimacy between us. He always seemed to me an elder brother, who wished the young ones were more serious. But, different though our interests and habits were, I always found him friendly, gentle, and considerate. So far as I can remember, he was at seventeen just what he was at twenty-seven, or thirty-seven, or forty-seven—sweet, grave, thoughtful, complete. Others perhaps may recall growth, change, completeness, gradually coming on him in look, form, mind, and character. I cannot. To me, when I heard him preaching in S. Paul's, or heard him speak at Oxford of more recent years, he was just the same earnest, zealous, affectionate, and entirely other-worldly nature that I remember at seventeen. The lines in his face may have deepened: the look may have become more anxious of late years. But, as a schoolboy, I always thought he looked just what he did

as a Priest. There was the same expression of sweet, somewhat fatherly, somewhat melancholy interest. He would reprove, exhort, advise boys just as a young Priest does in his own congregation. We expected it of him : and it never seemed to us to be in any way stepping out of his own business when he gave one of us a lecture or a sharp rebuke. We seemed to feel that this was what he was there for. He was entirely a Priest amongst boys." This testimony is the more remarkable, because in after years Liddon, though he was wont to speak gratefully of the intellectual training which he received at King's College School, used to deplore the stiffness and dryness of the religious teaching. Preaching in the Chapel of King's College in 1873, he said : "If, after leaving King's College School, I had not come into contact with other influences, I might have shrunk to the end of my life from the religious truths which now have a first place in my heart. And why was this? . . . There were school-prayers; there were religious lessons; there were examinations in religion, as in other things. But there was nothing to touch a boy's soul; there was nothing to reflect GOD; nothing to make the Christian life in its lofty and pure ideal a popular power among 500 boys."

But the "other influences" were now near at hand. Henry Liddon left school at Midsummer, 1846, having been confirmed on the

29th of the previous May. He had already realized his vocation to Holy Orders, and had set his heart on Oxford. Captain Liddon had shown some of the youthful Henry's manuscript sermons to Dr. Barnes, who was both Vicar of Colyton and Canon of Christ Church, and the Doctor was so much impressed by them that he offered their author a Studentship at Christ Church. Liddon went into residence in October, 1846; in the following December he was admitted to his Studentship; and he was a Student of Christ Church when he died. In 1879 he wrote of himself as "having belonged to the list of Students of the Old Foundation for thirty-three years this Christmas, and loving every stone of a place with which I associate the happiest moments and memories of my life." Just after his death, a fellow-Student wrote: "He had come to Christ Church when he was only seventeen years of age; in connexion with Christ Church, in many instances within its walls, he had formed his most enduring friendships; almost without any break from the date of his matriculation he had continued to hold his rooms; and all through his life it had been his habit to spend a considerable portion of each year in residence with us. Christ Church was emphatically his home, and he lavished on it all the wealth of affection of which so deep and genuine a nature was capable." But, above all, Christ Church was the scene, and in some sense the instru-

ment, of the momentous change which now overtook his religious beliefs. He fell at once under Dr. Pusey's influence, and his eyes were opened to see the treasures of Sacramental truth and corporate Churchmanship.

The life which Liddon led at Oxford was as remote from the ordinary life of Undergraduates, as his life at school had been from that of ordinary schoolboys. He took no part in athletic exercises. He read and walked and bathed with like-minded friends,¹ and cultivated music, and went to church, and frequented Dr. Pusey's society, and wrote elaborate sermons, and practised, in an unobtrusive way, some little "ritual frivolities." In the Long Vacation of 1849 he went with a "Reading Party" to Wales, under the guidance of William Stubbs, afterwards Bishop of Oxford; H. N. Oxenham being of the party. In later life he was wont to narrate with pardonable pride the fact that during this tour he had rescued the historian from a watery grave. It was his one athletic triumph.

¹ Among his friends were Lord Carnarvon, Lord Robert Cecil (afterwards Lord Salisbury), Frederick Lygon (afterwards Lord Beauchamp), G. W. Kitchin (afterwards Dean of Durham), and R. M. Benson, founder and first Superior of the Society of S. John the Evangelist, Cowley. Another was F. T. Buckland, "the accomplished and kindly naturalist, whose observations have opened out to this generation unsuspected fields of knowledge, and who, in his most intimate study of nature, never failed to recognize nature's God."—*Church Troubles*, p. 53.

As regards the prescribed work of the University, Liddon was at a double disadvantage. His absorbing interest in theological study had to some extent distracted his thoughts from scholarship and philosophy ; and he was at least a year younger than most of his competitors, two years younger than some. In spite of these disqualifications, and of a delicacy of health which led his tutor to caution him against over-work, he secured a Second Class in the Final Classical School in the summer of 1850, being not quite twenty-one years old. More than two years had to elapse before he could be ordained. He occupied the interval by reading for the Johnson Theological Scholarship (which he won in 1851) ; by mastering the history of the Church of England ; and by making journeys in Scotland and on the Continent, sometimes in company with a private pupil. In September, 1852, he paid his first visit to Rome. Vehement attempts were made to convert him, and he was honoured by a polemical conversation with Pius IX. He was attracted by much that he saw at Rome, but neither his intellect nor his conscience was convinced.¹ Unseduced and unterrified, he returned to England, and on December 19th, 1852, he was ordained Deacon in "the Cathedral Church of CHRIST in Oxford," by the

¹ In 1864 he wrote—"I never pass the Festival of the Assumption without being thankful that I am not a Roman Catholic."

hands of Bishop Samuel Wilberforce. The first of that ever-memorable succession of sermons by which, during a ministry of nearly forty years, he so gloriously served the cause of God in England, was preached in S. Thomas's Church, Oxford, on S. Thomas's Day, 1852. In January, 1853, he settled at Wantage, as Curate to the Rev. W. J. Butler, afterwards Dean of Lincoln. Here he instantly made his mark as a preacher of very long, very eloquent, and very impassioned sermons. By Dr. Pusey's wise advice he abandoned his manuscripts, and began to cultivate his splendid gift of extemporaneous oratory. His Vicar wrote in after years : " Nothing could exceed the beauty of his language, or the majesty of his thought. Strange, however, to say, his preaching was not popular among the Wantage folks. He had formed his style at that time much on the French or foreign model, and he used action and manner which our old-fashioned Berkshire parishioners could not appreciate." But, in spite of their truly English tendency to mistrust outlandish ways, the poor people loved Liddon as they knew him in the fields, in their cottages, and at their sick-beds. He acted as Chaplain to the Workhouse, where he tried to introduce some congregational singing in the Sunday Services, and even ventured to decorate the white-washed walls with some sacred prints, which the Guardians abruptly returned. This

incident was never forgotten. "I remember," writes Dr. Holland, "how he flamed up at the mention of the Poor Law; and this fiery indignation grew out of some event in his old curacy at Wantage, where he had given some pictures to relieve the hideous Work-house walls, only to find them removed by unbending Guardians."¹

However, Liddon's career as a curate was not destined to be of long duration. His health was not robust; Wantage is bleak; Butler's rule was strenuous; and it soon became apparent that Liddon was, in the phrase of his friend Richard Benson, "not up to Wantage requirements." He resigned the curacy, and, after a short interval of rest, was ordained Priest by the Bishop of Oxford on December 18th, 1853—"My God, strengthen me for that to which Thou hast called me."

The remarkable prelate² whose privilege it was to admit Liddon to the Diaconate and the Priesthood was now in the eighth year of his Episcopate. He had not been a Bishop three months when he noted in his private list of "Agenda" for his diocese—"A Diocesan Training-College for Clergy to be established at Cuddesdon." Eight years elapsed before the design was actually realized; but by the end of 1853 the building was nearly complete, and

¹ *The Commonwealth*, January, 1905.

² Samuel Wilberforce (1805-1873) Bishop of Oxford, 1845; of Winchester, 1869.

the Rev. Alfred Pott, afterwards Archdeacon of Berkshire, had undertaken to be Principal of the College when it should be opened in the following summer. Liddon was now free from pastoral duties ; he had his station and income as Student of Christ Church ; he was a thoroughly well-instructed theologian, and his fervent piety was a living epistle known and read of all men. He was an ideal officer for a Theological College, and, just before the Ordination at Christmas, 1853, the Bishop asked him to become Vice-Principal of Cuddesdon. After some mutual explanations of views and intentions, he accepted the post. The College was formally opened on June 13th, 1854, and the new Vice-Principal entered on his new duties in the following October.

He entered on them not without misgiving. He foresaw difficulties only too likely to arise from the Bishop's ingrained Protestantism, just veneered with a layer of Moderate High Churchism. His own theological teaching was definite, unmistakable, insistent. The Bishop's might, without uncharity, be described as nebulous and uncertain. The difference between the two theologies soon made itself felt in practice. The Bishop, submitting to the representations of Episcopal brethren, thought it necessary to curb some elementary ritualism in the College Chapel. He required the abandonment of the Eastward Position at the Altar. "This change," wrote Liddon, "I feel to be the

most important; it is doctrinal." The Bishop, on his part, wrote: "Our (that is, Liddon's and mine,) theological standing-point is not identical. On the great doctrine of the Eucharist we should use somewhat different language, and our ritualistic tendencies would be all coloured by this. On Confession, and its expedient limits, we should also, I think, differ."

At the beginning of 1858, a sudden storm burst over Cuddesdon College. It began with an article in the *Quarterly Review*, commenting severely on the theological tone of the College, and it was industriously fomented by a "gossiping friend" of the Bishop's, whose name need not now be recalled. Protestant feeling, both in the diocese and beyond it, was violently aroused, and the usefulness, perhaps even the existence, of the College was imperilled. At first the Bishop wrote that the Vice-Principal was "eminently endued with the power of leading men to earnest devoted piety," and that with such a man he ought not to interfere except as to "anything substantially important." But gradually his attitude changed. He found that there was in Liddon "a strength of will — an ardour — a restlessness — a dominant imagination — which makes him unable to give to the young men any tone save exactly his own* tone." That tone was not the Bishop's, nor was it acceptable either to the old-fashioned High Churchmen who, in their

staid way, wished the College well ; or to the Protestant fanatics who were howling for its destruction. Difficulties from within, as well as from without, increased term by term, and eventually the Bishop resolved to lighten the ship by throwing his lieutenant overboard. He "came with a torn heart to the conclusion" that Liddon must go.

Of this conclusion Liddon said twenty years later, "It was the only great disappointment of my life." He was a Priest to the innermost fibre. He was obviously unfitted, both mentally and physically, for the ordinary duties of a parish, but his ardour for the Priesthood was intense, and he was supremely happy in a sphere of work where he could train men for the priestly life, stamping on young consciences and wills his own high ideal of the Sacerdotal Vocation. His work at Cuddesdon had been, in spite of Puritan calumnies and Episcopal qualms, eminently successful. Then, as always, he powerfully attracted the love and loyalty of young men. Principal Johnston generously says that "to the present day the special features of Cuddesdon College are due, under God, to the work of its first Vice-Principal." That work was closed by the combined action of friends and foes ; and at Easter, 1859, the most brilliant ecclesiastic in the Church of England found himself without office, employment, or responsibility.

CHAPTER II.

S. EDMUND HALL—SERMONS—BAMPTON
LECTURES.

WE have seen that Liddon had a precocious talent for composing sermons, and he had improved it with sedulous care. For the villagers of Cuddesdon and Wantage he probably had (as was said of Edward Irving at Kirkcaldy) "ower muckle gran'ner," and in the chapel of a Theological College he may have been, if not "ower grand," yet over-long and over-rhetorical. His return to Oxford, in the summer of 1859, suddenly supplied him with a larger and a fitter audience. He was made Vice-Principal of S. Edmund Hall,¹ but his activities extended far beyond the walls of that secluded quadrangle. His Theological Lectures on Sunday evenings, delivered in the Hall of Queen's College and open to all Undergraduates, made a deep impression; and his skill and

¹ A pair of candlesticks in the Chapel of the Hall bear this inscription: ✠ "Deo et Sacello Aulae S. Edmundi Cantuar: d.d. H. P. Liddon: A.M.: æd. Christi Alumn: ejusdem aulae vice-principalis in fest: Pasch.: 1861."

judgment in guiding individual souls served to drive home the lessons more publicly delivered. One who was then an Undergraduate of Christ Church writes: "I used to go for walks with him to Headington Hill and Marston. Almost at once I began to attend his Sunday evening lectures. At the end of one of my walks with him, I asked him if he would receive my Confession. He said, 'I hope, dear friend, that you do not wish to go to Confession because it is the High Church thing.' I said, 'Certainly not, but I feel that it is a necessity,' or words to that effect. It was near the turning from the High to S. Edmund Hall that this matter was arranged, and the thing was done in S. Edmund Hall."

But, apart from all this academical or semi-academical work, Liddon was beginning to realize the true scope of his genius. He was a born preacher, and internal and external testimony combined to convince him of the fact. In Oxford he had no rival. The first sermon which he ever printed had been preached in S. Giles's Church, Oxford, in Lent, 1858, and was published by the Bishop's request. On Good Friday, 1859, just before the beginning of the Campaign of Solferino, he preached in Christ Church that magnificent sermon on "The Divine Victim," which now stands as No. IX. in the First Series of his University Sermons. Very soon

his fame went abroad, and he was invited to preach all over England. In the year 1860 he preached at forty-two different places ; and so acceptable were his sermons to great congregations in London and elsewhere that, before 1866, twelve of them had been published separately. The style and manner of his preaching will be noted later on ; at present I am merely cataloguing events.

In 1859 and 1861 he delivered, before the Oxford "Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity," to which he had belonged from undergraduate days, and of which he was now Master, two striking addresses—the one on the Christian obligation of study, the other on the needs and prospects of the Brotherhood. In the second of these addresses he drew a vivid contrast between Oxford as it then was, and Oxford as it had been in the great days of the Movement, and the passage is so characteristic of his habitual thought and style that some part of it must be reproduced:—

"We read of rivers whose waters at the mouth bear towards the distant ocean the products of those widely different climates and latitudes in which they take their rise : and it is not, I think, too much to say that the Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity never would or could have taken shape and form in the Oxford of 1861. It was thrown off from the Movement in its days of fresh and warm creative vigour : and it embodied con-

victions which were then shared by numbers outside it who did not even know of the existence of a Society which expressed them. It has lived through internal convulsion and external isolation and neglect : it flows down to us laden with the associations, and breathing the spirit, of a period which is already historical. It brings to us the impress of minds which have long been lost to it, and the strength of prayers which ascend for it, as we trust, beyond the Veil. It is already, after its far-off measure, a little image of the Church, traversing as she does in her Divine and Majestic strength remote and recent ages, and divergent civilizations ; and interpenetrating societies which have scarcely any one other point of resemblance and union, save in that common impress of moral and social grace and beauty which they owe to her beneficent presence."

In the summer of 1862 Liddon, who had never been strong, had a sharp attack of illness. This, combined with some other considerations, determined him to leave S. Edmund Hall. He had already declined to be the first Incumbent of S. Alban's, Holborn ; he now refused the Wardenship of Radley. Those were the days when the sciolism of *Essays and Reviews*, and Bishop Colenso's aberrations, had overthrown the faith of some ; and, acting on Dr. Pusey's advice, Liddon decided to

remain in Oxford, devoting all his powers to the intellectual defence of the Christian Creed against the assaults of Unbelief and Misbelief. By the end of 1862 he had established himself at Christ Church, in those rooms in "Tom Quad" which he retained till his death. In 1863 he was appointed Examining Chaplain to his friend Dr. Hamilton, Bishop of Salisbury, whose entire confidence he enjoyed, whose theological opinions he shared, and to whom he always referred as "his revered Master." This appointment made heavy demands on his time, already pretty well occupied with preaching in all directions, with the preparatory study which this involved, and with the guidance of souls both orally and by correspondence. Dr. Pusey disliked all this varied activity, because it interfered with systematic authorship. "You preach sermons an hour long at S. Paul's,¹ and nobody hears you, and you are knocked up for a fortnight afterwards. You have done nothing."

In 1864 Liddon was appointed by Bishop Hamilton to a Prebendal stall at Salisbury: and in the following year he published his first volume of sermons. It was rather awkwardly named *Some Words for God*; but this title was subsequently dropped, and it is now the First Series of University Sermons. Several of the sermons which it contains had

¹ On the invitation of Dean Milman.

already been published in separate form, but the volume is united by a certain "apologetic character" which belongs to it as a whole. It is worth noting that "The Law of Progress" and "The Freedom of the Spirit," both preached in 1864, were intended by their author as attempts to "trace to a Christian source some prominent ideas, which, in their application to secular and material interests, form the strength and staple of the system of thought vaguely described as 'Liberalism.'" Perhaps the finest sermon in the book is "The Conflict of Faith with Undue Exaltation of Intellect." It was preached at S. Mary's on Friday evening, March 17, 1865—not strictly "before the University," but to a congregation of Undergraduates for whose special benefit Bishop Wilberforce used to organize courses of Lenten Sermons. Of those sermons Dr. Holland gives an inimitable description: "Can we ever forget them? Could we tear the memory out of our hearts? Can Liddon's life be written, without a picture of that moving sight? The swarms of Undergraduates, herded in galleries, in deep rows, or crowded into every nook and corner of the floor; the lights; the unwonted fact that we were all there in church; the odd weird length of Burgon¹ giving out the hymn in a shrill, piping tone; the young voices released, in

¹ J. W. Burgon, (1813-1888) Vicar of S. Mary's, and afterwards Dean of Chichester.

their joy, to sing some old friend like 'Saviour, when in dust to Thee,' the mighty hush of expectation ; and then the thrill of that vibrant voice, alive with all the passion of the hour, vehement, searching, appealing, pleading, ringing ever higher as the great argument lifted him ; the swift turns of the beautiful face, as he flung out over us some burning ironic phrase or quivering challenge ; the beads on the brow that told of the force expended ; the grace, the movement, the fire, the sincerity of it all. It was wonderful to us. We lived on the memory of it till next Lent came round, and then there we all were again : the same scene enacted itself, the same voice pleaded with us for our souls. So, from year to year, in our weak, boyish hearts the flickering flame of faith was saved from perishing under the gusty tumult of the perilous times."

But now a greater effort was at hand. Acting on the advice of friends, Liddon had offered himself as a candidate for the office of Bampton Lecturer for 1866, and had been defeated by the casting vote of the Vice-Chancellor ; but in November, 1865, the selected candidate fell ill and resigned the lectureship, and the Heads of Houses unanimously appointed Liddon to take his place.

The first Lecture had to be delivered on the 4th of March, 1866, and Liddon had chosen as his subject the most profound and far-reaching mystery of the Christian Faith—"the Divinity

of our LORD and Saviour JESUS CHRIST." The intervening four months were a season of intense study, incessant labour, and painful misgiving; but the result was a transcendent triumph. The Lectures, now in their fourteenth edition,¹ and twentieth "impression," remain among the masterpieces of English theology; while the consuming earnestness and rhetorical fire with which they were delivered attracted unprecedented congregations, and determined the spiritual future of many an Undergraduate who heard them. Let the peroration of the last Lecture be recalled:—

"But here we must close this attempt to reassert, against some misapprehensions of modern thought, the great truth which guards the honour of CHRIST, and which is the most precious feature in the intellectual heritage of Christians. And for you, dear brethren, who by your generous interest or by your warm sympathies have so accompanied and sustained him, what can the preacher more fittingly or more sincerely desire, than that any clearer sight of the Divine Person of our glorious and living LORD which may have been granted you, may be, by Him, blessed to your present sanctification and to your endless peace? If you are intellectually persuaded that in confessing the true Godhead of JESUS you have not fol-

¹ The preface to the fourteenth edition was written within three months of Liddon's death.

lowed a cunningly-devised fable, or the crude imagination of a semi-barbarous and distant age, then do not allow yourselves to rest content with this intellectual persuasion. A truth so sublime, so imperious, has other work to do in you besides shaping into theoretic compactness a certain district of your thought about the goodness of GOD and the wants of man. The Divine CHRIST of the Gospel and the Church is no mere actor, though He were the greatest, in the great tragedy of human history ; He belongs not exclusively or especially to the past ; He is 'the Same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.' He is at this moment all that He was eighteen centuries ago, all that He has been to our fathers, all that He will be to our children. He is the Divine and Infallible Teacher, the Healer and Pardoner of sin, the Source of all graces, the Conqueror of Satan and of death—now, as of old, and as in the years to come. Now as heretofore, He is 'able to save unto the uttermost them that come unto God by Him ;' now, as on the day of His triumph over death, 'He opens the Kingdom of Heaven to all believers' ; now, as in the first age of the Church, He it is 'that hath the key of David, that openeth, and no man shutteth ; and shutteth, and no man openeth.' He is ever the Same ; but, as the children of time, whether for good or evil, we move onwards in perpetual change. The hours of life pass, they do not return ; they pass, yet they are not

forgotten ; *pereunt et imputantur*. But the present is our own ; we may resolve, if we will, to live as men who live for the glory of an Incarnate God. Brethren, you shall not repent it, if when life's burdens press heavily, and especially at that solemn hour when human help must fail, you are able to lean with strong confidence on the arm of an Almighty Saviour. May He in deed and truth be with you, alike in your pilgrimage through this world, and when that brief journey is drawing to its close ! May you, sustained by His Presence and aid, so pass through the valley of the shadow of death as to fear no evil, and to find, at the gate of the eternal world, that all the yearnings of faith and hope are to be more than satisfied by the vision of the Divine 'King in His Beauty !' "

A great part of the year 1866, and some months of 1867, were spent by Liddon in revising his Bampton's for the press. At the same time he was rendering constant aid to Bishop Hamilton in the preparation of his famous Charge of 1867 ;¹ and he was in close consultation with Dr. Pusey and Archdeacon Denison about the Declaration on Eucharistic Doctrine to be submitted to the Upper House of Convocation.² Amid these varied labours he refreshed himself by a two months' tour in

¹ Reasserting the doctrines of the Real Presence, the Eucharistic Sacrifice, and the Power of the Keys.

² See Appendix A.

Russia, where the spiritual atmosphere—devout, orthodox, and conservative, yet eminently anti-papal—was exactly congenial to his own temper. On his return to England he was forced to consider the question of accepting the Headship of Keble College, which was to be opened in two years' time. The suggestion was pressed by many friends, who did not accept his refusal without a struggle. In the autumn of this year, on the invitation of Dr. Butler, afterwards Master of Trinity and then Head Master of Harrow, Liddon preached to the boys of Harrow School. It was then that I first saw and heard him, and I am one of those who will always regard him as incomparably the greatest preacher they ever heard, and will estimate all other preaching by comparison with his masterpieces. Perhaps the impression created by more than twenty years' close study of his methods may here be not out of place.

October 10, 1868, is Founder's Day at Harrow. It has been announced that Mr. Liddon—the "great Oxford swell," as the better-instructed boys called him, the author of the most eloquent Bampton Lectures which have ever been delivered—is coming to preach in the School Chapel at the Commemoration Service. Prayers and hymns and thanksgivings for Founder and Benefactors are duly performed, and the preacher enters the pulpit.

His appearance instantly attracts attention. "He looks like a monk," one boy whispers to his neighbour ; and, indeed, it is a better description than the speaker knows. The Oxford M.A. gown, worn over a cassock, is the Benedictine habit modified by time and place ; the spare, trim figure suggests asceticism : the beautifully chiselled, sharply-pointed, features, the close-shaved face, the tawny skin, the jet-black hair, remind us vaguely of something by Velasquez or Murillo, or of Ary Scheffer's picture of S. Augustine. And the interest awoke by sight is intensified by sound. The preacher recites the prefatory collect. The vibrant voice strikes like an electric shock. The exquisite, almost over-refined, articulation seems the very note of culture. The restrained passion, which thrills through the disciplined utterance, warns even the most heedless that something quite unlike the ordinary stuff of school-sermons is coming. The text is announced—"Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth, while the evil days come not, nor the years draw nigh when thou shalt say, I have no pleasure in them." Thirty-seven years have sped their course, and the echoes of that sermon still quiver in the ear of memory. It speaks of the blessedness and glory of boyhood ; the splendid inheritance of a Public School built on Christian lines ; the unequalled opportunities of learning while the faculties are still fresh and the mind is still

receptive; the worthlessness of all merely secular attainment, however desirable, however necessary, when weighed in the balance against the "one thing needful." The congregation still are boys, but soon they will be men. Dark days will come, as Ecclesiastes warned—dark in various ways and senses, darkest when, at the Universities or elsewhere, we first are bidden to cast faith aside and to believe nothing but what is demonstrable by "an appeal, in the last resort, to the organs of sense." Now is the time, and this is the place, so to "remember our Creator" that, come what may, we shall never be able to forget Him, or doubt His love, or question His revelation.

We are listening, for the first time in our lives, to a man inspired. The scene has transported the preacher. The sea of upturned faces, the graceful architecture, the memorial windows flashing like jewels in the autumn sunshine, the handwriting of the names of saints and heroes speaking from every wall and pillar—all combine to show him, as in a trance, the splendid destiny of a Christian School. His eyes glow and flash, every line of his face quivers with emotion, his gestures are so free, so expressive, so illustrative,

"that you might almost say his body thought."

He leans far out from the pulpit, spreading

himself, as it were, over the congregation, in an act of benediction. "From this place may CHRIST ever be preached in the fulness of His creative, redemptive, and sacramental work. Here may you learn to remember Him in the days of your youth ; and in the last and most awful day of all may He remember you."

Five minutes afterwards we are in the open air. Boys stare and gasp ; masters hurry past, excited and loquacious. Notes are compared, and watches consulted. Liddon has preached for an hour.

That sermon at Harrow in 1868 may be taken as a turning-point in Liddon's rhetorical method. His peculiar gifts and graces were fully developed ; his supremacy among English preachers was assured. But from this time on he began to subject his genius to a more rigorous discipline. The exuberance of early manhood was laid aside ; he no longer indulged his natural tendency to extemporaneous declamation. After he became Canon of S. Paul's he very seldom preached except in that Cathedral or at Oxford, and in both places he made it an absolute rule to preach written sermons. In some respects the change was an improvement. A comparison of his First Series of University Sermons, and even his great Bampton, with the Second Series of University Sermons and his Christmas and Easter Sermons at S. Paul's will show the

nature of the change. His arrangement, always clear, became more absolutely lucid ; his train of reasoning still closer and more cogent. His rhetoric, which had been undeniably florid, became a very pure and lofty style of eloquence ; and the vivid flashes of sarcasm against unbeliefs and misbeliefs, which had so often gratified his Undergraduate hearers, no longer illumined his solemn passion. If preaching be a distinct art from public speaking—if it implies the effective reading of a carefully-written manuscript—then Liddon's last days were his best days as a preacher, for no one ever managed a manuscript so well.¹ But Memory has her own delights, not always amenable to canons of taste or principles of art ; and among those delights are the echo and the vision of Liddon's early oratory.

¹ His manuscripts were small sheets of notepaper, strung together at the top corner.

CHAPTER III.

THE IRISH CHURCH—THE LENT LECTURES.

IN November, 1868, the Parliament which had been elected in 1865 was dissolved, and the first General Election under Household Suffrage took place. The issue, raised by Mr. Gladstone in the previous summer, and now submitted to the electors, was whether the Irish Church should or should not be disestablished. The result was a majority of a hundred pledged to Gladstone and Disestablishment, and Mr. Disraeli resigned without meeting the new Parliament. Among his last acts as Prime Minister were the appointments of Dr. Tait, Bishop of London, to the Primacy, and of Dr. Jackson, Bishop of Lincoln, to the See of London. On the 18th of November, 1868, Liddon wrote to a friend—

“The recent appointments are very miserable work. I try to shut my eyes to what they mean, but without much success. The new Primate will, I fear, set Colenso on his legs again, by saying that he is in communion with him, and that will be a much more compromis-

ing thing for the Church of England than a like statement from a Bishop of London. The whole thing shows how little Dizzy was to be relied on in these matters—how perfectly subordinate the Church's most vital interests are, with him, to the exigencies of political party."

In December, 1868, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council pronounced judgment in the suit of *Martin v. Mackonochie*, condemning Mr. Mackonochie for certain practices, esteemed "ritualistic," in the celebration of the Holy Communion at S. Alban's, Holborn. On the 28th December, Liddon wrote :

"My own inclination is for resistance, if there is a chance of resistance with such unanimity and success as to make the Judgment a dead letter. For it seems to me that a much more serious thing than any particular judgment which may emanate from that Court is the fact that such a Court should give judgment in such matters at all, and that the Church of CHRIST, by tacit or practical consent, should acknowledge its jurisdiction. The Court is at once a standing defiance of our LORD's arrangements for the government of His Church, and a very dishonourable violation, on the part of the State, of the Reformation Settlement (cf. 24 Henry VIII. preamble). As a natural consequence, the instinct of the Court is, under the pretence of administering law, to support

infidelity and to insult Church-truth on every possible opportunity. . . . I wish for the sake of the poor Church of England that that miserable Court could be abolished. Mr. Keble said more than once to me that ‘No one who cared for our Saviour’s honour and the future of our Church should rest while it remained as it is.’”

Mr. Gladstone was now for the first time Prime Minister, and it was obvious that the first work of the new Parliament must be Irish Disestablishment. This was a topic which sharply divided even High Churchmen, the older-fashioned sort clinging desperately to a discredited Establishment: the younger and more adventurous spirits sympathizing with the cause of Justice and Freedom. Liddon wrote to Lord Carnarvon:¹ “My own line would be to accept Disestablishment for Ireland, and to endeavour by doing so to secure two advantages, or so much of them as possible.” These two advantages were the preservation of endowments, “or as much of them as could be saved;” and the attainment of spiritual freedom, — “in particular, freedom from the doctrinal jurisdiction of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.” In England, he added, what we have most to dread is, not Disestablishment, but “a careful protection both of our social position and of our property,

¹ Henry, fourth Earl of Carnarvon (1831-1890).

combined with a systematic endeavour to destroy all firm hold upon doctrine, under the plea of making the Church national. . . . The fate of the Irish Church, disestablished and impoverished, would be a very welcome alternative to this destiny, which, if some active minds among us could have their way, is in store for ourselves."

This is exactly the view of Disestablishment and Disendowment which he enunciated, in a more picturesque form, as late as 1881: "Few, if any, Churchmen desire to see the Church of England disestablished and disendowed; but, if it be a question whether it is better to be turned out of house and home, without any clothes, and even on a winter's night, or to be strangled by a silken cord in a richly-furnished drawing-room, what man, or Church, will have any difficulty in arriving at a decision?"¹

A great part of the year 1869 was spent by Liddon in close attendance on the last illness of his "revered Master," and "dearest Father in CHRIST," Bishop Hamilton. Early in the year, the Bishop, already fatally ill, suggested that Liddon should preach the sermon on "CHRIST and Human Law," which stands as No. XVI. in the Second Series of University Sermons. "The opinions which are embodied in this sermon are substantially those of this revered and lamented prelate," and the sermon is

¹ Preface to *Thoughts on Present Church Troubles*, 1881.

noteworthy as combining an emphatic protest against the State's law of Divorce and Remarriage with an equally emphatic repudiation of the authority of the Judicial Committee in ecclesiastical disputes. It was preached before the Judges of Assize at Oxford on the 28th of February, 1869. On the 16th of March Liddon wrote, "The cold has been very great during the last two or three days, and the green things which have begun to grow look terribly pinched—like Christians after a "judgment" of the Privy Council. By-the-by I have got into a certain sort of hot water for a sermon about the P.C. at Oxford the other day, which accordingly I must publish."

The Bill for the Disestablishment of the Irish Church had been introduced on the 1st of March; and it ran a very easy course through the House of Commons. In the House of Lords, however, it was seriously imperilled; and the following account of the division on the Second Reading, given by an eye-witness, was well worth preserving. On the 26th of June, Liddon wrote—

"Mrs. Gladstone's account of the division in the House of Lords was very amusing. She sat there for 11 hours: came home to Carlton House Terrace at 3.30: rushed up-stairs, woke her maid (who probably cared nothing about the Irish Church), woke Agnes and Helen Gladstone; then 'went in to William.'

He had gone to bed early, and was sound asleep : he had been unwell in the early part of the week. 'Could not help it : gave William a discreet poke.' 'A majority of 33, my dear.' 'Thank you, my dear,' he said, and turned round, and went to sleep on the other side." The Bill became law on the 26th of July, 1869.

The Church of S. James, Piccadilly, has long been famed for its courses of Lent Lectures on Sunday afternoons. In 1869, Dr. Jackson, Bishop of London, requested Liddon to lecture during Lent, 1870. It was an epoch-making point in the lecturer's career. He had often preached in London,—at S. Paul's Cathedral, at All Saints', Margaret Street, and elsewhere ; but now for the first time the denizens of the West End, Ministers of State, members of the Houses of Parliament, great squires, leading lawyers, and all their contingents of wives and daughters, heard the greatest of English preachers, and heard him in the fulness of his physical and mental vigour. Dr. Holland writes about the impression created by these lectures with his usual vivid accuracy : "Was anything ever seen like the sensation which they produced ? Those smart crowds packed tight, Sunday after Sunday, to listen for an hour and forty minutes to a sermon that spoke straight home to their elemental souls. It was amazing ! London never again shook

with so vehement an emotion. 'Society,' in its vague, aggravating ignorance, believed itself to have discovered Liddon. How indignant we used to get with the rapturous Duchesses who asked whether we had ever heard of this wonderful new preacher! Why, for years before we had stood ranked thick on each others' toes in huddled S. Mary's, to catch every word of the ringing voice. Those belated Duchesses, indeed! Yet it was something that, however late in the day, they should all feel it necessary for their reputations to be there at S. James's."

To Dr. Holland's reminiscences I must add a contemporary account of these famous Lectures, which I have treasured all these five-and-thirty years. It was extracted from a daily paper, and a certain resonance in the style seems to recall what Matthew Arnold called "the magnificent roaring of the young lions of the *Daily Telegraph*."

"'As dull as a sermon : ' no proverb is more trite. 'The age of the pulpit has gone by : ' no idea is more readily taken for granted by cultivated men. On these commonplaces of society, however, a strange commentary has been furnished by the afternoon Lenten Services at S. James's, Piccadilly. For several Sundays the space in front of the church has, more than half-an-hour before the beginning of the service, been thronged by a fashionable concourse, which has eagerly watched for the opening of the door, and has pushed into the

lobby with the unceremonious vigour of a plebeian mob at the pit-entrance of a theatre on "a first night." Elegantly-dressed ladies have endangered shawls, bonnets, and tempers in the crush; fashionably-dressed men have not scrupled to use their physical strength to get a good place; and, five minutes after the opening of the doors, every free seat has been filled. By three o'clock not a single seat has been unoccupied, and throughout the service the passages have been crammed.

"Cabinet Ministers, ex-Ministers, members of the nobility, a throng of fashionable women, and a crowd of men who seem to have strayed out of their element in going to afternoon prayers, have filled the church to overflowing. Still more striking has been the sight during the sermon. Sometimes for an hour and forty minutes, and never for less than an hour and a quarter, has the preacher drawn out the thread of his discourse. The sermons have dealt with the profoundest questions that can engage the human mind. In what form the religious instinct has revealed itself in successive ages, and among different peoples; what has been done to satisfy that instinct by Pantheism on the one hand, or by Positivism on the other; what lines of connexion exist between the speculation of modern Germany and that of ancient Greece; how evil has intertwined itself with the works of a sinless Creator; and with what hope of answer the

prayers of a finite being can be addressed to an infinite Creator : such are the subjects on which Mr. Liddon has been discoursing to the great West-end crowd. And, if the themes have seemed unlikely to be popular, still less popular might appear the method of treatment. No appeals have been made to excited feelings, and the vigorous flow of rhetoric has been disturbed by no bursts of vague eloquence. Every sermon has manifestly been written with elaborate care, and the successive links of the reasoning have been so closely knit that to keep them all in view has needed the closest attention even of trained minds. No insult is offered to the intellect of the audience by the doubt whether many of the hearers fully comprehend the Theistic argument which Mr. Liddon drew from the reasoning of Kant with respect to the supremacy of the moral law. Nor is the metaphysical learning of the West-end ladies disparaged by the suspicion, that few possessed such knowledge as he took for granted when he reviewed the efforts of Hume and Mill to resolve cause and effect into a mere antecedent and consequent, bound together by no tie of force, but merely by the link of position in time or space. Yet, while the preacher was minutely detailing and elaborately criticising the arguments of Fuerbach or Comte, the large audience has preserved such silence, and displayed such fixity of attention, as to recall the triumphs of the opera rather

than of the pulpit. Whereas an ordinary preacher finds it difficult to gain a hearing even for a quarter of an hour, Mr. Liddon has riveted the attention of his audience for more than an hour and a half. That the eagerness to hear great preaching is still a passion, and that the pulpit might still be a great power, are facts amply attested by the series of Lenten Sermons which are to be finished next Sunday.

“And what is the secret of the preacher’s success? In the first place, he has something to say. Instead of clap-trap sentiment, or vague declamation, he gives the results of long study and careful thought. Even when most widely disagreeing with Mr. Liddon’s conclusions, the student of philosophy, theology, or Church history sees that each sermon sums up the reading and the thought of years. Such general erudition could be matched by that of few divines in a Church which, even in the era of Georgian mediocrity, never lost the reputation for learning achieved by the Cudworths and the Hookers. So wide and so accurate an acquaintance with the speculation of Germany and France could be out-matched only by the few English divines, who, like Dean Mansel, have made ontology and psychology their special province. Just as Mr. Liddon’s Bampton Lectures on ‘The Divinity of our LORD’ were at least as remarkable for their display of minute familiarity with the destructive criticism of Strauss

and Baur as for the acuteness of the reasoning or the force of the rhetoric, so the Lenten Sermons are not least distinguished by a wide and varied erudition. But erudition, when it stands alone, is a poor endowment for a preacher, and Mr. Liddon is a reasoner as well as a scholar. In these days of loosely-reasoned discourses, when preachers do not even dream that a defiance of accurate thinking is a great sin, it is a positive wonder to see Mr. Liddon's attempt to link the deliverances of dogmatic theology with the primary instincts of our nature by a hard chain of logical inference. We do not say that the cogency of the argument would win a tribute of admiration from his philosophical opponents. His attempt to overthrow the Pyrrhonism of Hume will not, we fear, strike terror into the small but enthusiastic band of Comtists; his assault on the Utilitarian theory of ethics will not give Mr. Mill reason for a change of front; nor, we suspect, will his treatment of that mystery of mysteries, the origin of evil, give more universal satisfaction than the vehement rhetoric which rang through the tents of the Arabs untold centuries ago. But if the accuracy of Mr. Liddon's reasoning be impugned, he will find himself in good company. If Dean Mansel is strong in anything, it is in accuracy of logic; and yet, by a hundred able critics, his Bampton Lectures on 'The Limits of Religious Thought' were

assailed on the very ground that the air of superficial exactness which distinguished the expanse of inference concealed a mass of assumptions. Besides having something to say, Mr. Liddon knows how to say it. . . . In the power of clear, vivid and strong statement, he has no rival among English preachers. And the sermon of yesterday afternoon,¹ on the efficacy of such prayer as a finite being might address to an Infinite Being, displayed a fervour of rhetoric which could scarcely be reined in even by the curb of a fastidious culture, or stayed by the load of learning and thought. As for an hour and forty minutes Mr. Liddon discussed the question whether the idea that prayer could be heard was compatible with the doctrine that the world is governed in accordance with inflexible laws, he set forth the result of such reading and thought as would equip an ordinary preacher for a year of pulpit eloquence. Indeed, the defect of the sermons is that they are better fitted for the eye than the ear. Only when they are published in a collected form, and read as a review of the relations borne by the current forms of philosophical thought to religious faith, will their real weight and power be fully seen.

“And what is the moral of the brilliant success which is attending these remarkable lectures? It is a moral which, as old as

¹ April 3, 1870.

human thought itself, has been denied by age after age only to be re-asserted with renewed vehemence and vigour. It is the moral that, of all subjects, those which concern the everlasting destinies of man excite the profoundest interest, and that when discussed with earnestness and sterling intellectual power such themes exercise a resistless fascination. Again and again does scepticism seem the omnipotent creed, and the very idea of religious belief to have vanished from educated society ; but the chill of unbelief passes away, and the fever of faith comes back again. Voltaire and the Encyclopædists fancied that from the belief of cultivated Europe they had at last banished every tenet except naked Deism, and had reduced Christianity to a bugbear of the Priests. Hume imagined that he had finally demonstrated the futility of reasoning with respect to the invisible world. And, stealing weapons from the armoury of the great Scottish sceptic, Comte waged war against all forms of the supernatural, on the ground that we can reason accurately only from the data furnished by sense, and that, when we cannot reason correctly, it is a breach of morality to reason at all. Voltaire, Hume, and Comte have taught that it is a culpable waste of time to perplex ourselves with such insoluble questions as whether we can determine our own fate in the infinite hereafter, and whether the Omnipotent Ruler of the

universe listens to the prayers of His creatures. And yet these questions are as eagerly discussed now as they were five thousand years ago. To any fresh or earnest word on those most solemn and mysterious of themes, men listen with some measure of the eagerness which a fond imagination ascribes to the ages of faith. Generation after generation feels those questions start up with the greenness of a recurring spring. Dynasties come and go, Empires rise and fall, literatures vanish from the memory of man, forms of polity wax old and perish, and the ancient homes of great peoples survive as the sepulchres of the dead ; but the broodings of the soul on the dim hereafter never fade or die. With immortal vigour they renew themselves in each generation, and baffle the efforts of logic or sarcasm to numb them into death. It is these undying problems that Mr. Liddon has been passing under review, with the help of a rare erudition and a vigorous dialectic ; it is these yearnings of the soul that have found expression in the solemn passion of his rhetoric ; and hence, despite his constant recourse to the profundity of German analysis, a brilliant and overflowing audience has flocked to hear his lofty discourse."¹

¹ The Lent Lectures were published in 1872, under the title, *Some Elements of Religion*.

CHAPTER IV.

S. PAUL'S—THE ATHANASIAN CREED.

1870 was a marked year in Liddon's life. Before the famous Lent Lectures were delivered, he had received from Mr. Gladstone the offer of a Canonry at S. Paul's, and the appointment was announced on February 16th. He was installed on April 27th, and preached for the first time as Canon on May 1st.¹ On June 11th he was elected to the Ireland Professorship of Exegesis at Oxford, though he had steadily refused to put himself forward for the office. At the Encænna on June 22nd, the first over which the new Chancellor, Lord Salisbury, presided, he received the honorary degree of D.C.L.² An American visitor to Oxford, describing the proceedings of the day, wrote as follows: "The men who received the warmest applause were Liddon, the famous preacher, and Arnold, the poet. . . . Mr.

¹ Liddon never gave way to the new-fangled fashion of using "Canon" as a title. To a friend who addressed him as "Canon Liddon," he would say, "Please do not Canonize me."

² He was made D.D. in the following November.

Arnold's recent attacks¹ upon the Dissenters had endeared him to the clergymen's sons in the galleries."

Liddon spent his summer holiday on the Continent, travelling from Luxembourg to Metz just as the Franco-German War broke out, and went on to Ober Ammergau and to Munich. By September he was back in London, and on the 11th he preached, as Canon in Residence, under the Dome, thereby establishing the precedent which has been followed ever since. On December 16th he took possession of his official house, No. 3, Amen Court. For twenty years that house was to his friends, old and young, and to his spiritual children a shrine, a sanctuary, and a home.

When Liddon became Canon of S. Paul's, the condition of the Cathedral was not very markedly different from what it had been twenty years before, when Charles Kingsley described it :—"The afternoon service was proceeding. The organ droned sadly in its iron cage to a few musical amateurs. Some nursery-maids and foreign sailors stared about within the spiked felons'-dock which shut off the body of the Cathedral, and tried in vain to hear what was going on inside the choir. The scanty Service rattled in the vast building, like a dried kernel too small for its shell. The place breathed imbecility, and unreality, and sleepy

¹ In *S. Paul and Protestantism*.

life-in-death, while the whole nineteenth century went roaring on its way outside. And as Lancelot thought of old S. Paul's, the morning star and focal beacon of England through centuries and dynasties, from Augustine and Mellitus, up to those Paul's Cross sermons whose thunders shook thrones, and to Wren's noble masterpiece of art, he asked, 'Whither all this?' Coleridge's dictum, that a cathedral is a petrified religion, may be taken in more meanings than one. When will life return to this Cathedral system?"

Some attempt to give a practical answer to that wistful question had been made by Dean Mansel and Canon Gregory before Liddon joined the Chapter, and his appointment gave fresh impetus and strength to the reforming party. In the following year Dean Mansel died, and was succeeded by Dean Church, who threw all the splendid resources of his character, intellect, and knowledge into the work of making S. Paul's the great centre and exemplar of Divine Worship and spiritual activity for the whole Diocese of London. Of that work a detailed account has been given in another volume of this series.¹ Here it is enough to say that the restoration of the Holy Eucharist to its rightful position in the devotional life of the Church was the guiding principle of this new reformation. Henceforward, the "Daily Sacrifice of Sacramental Thanksgiving"² was to be offered; the Bread

¹ *Dean Church* by D. C. Lathbury.

² Jeremy Taylor.

of Life was to be broken daily, and the Breaking was to be the central act of Sunday's worship, gathering round it the best that the Cathedral had to give in the way of music and architecture and ordered rite. Every change from the dismal disorder of the past, whether in the way of structure, or ceremony, or organization, was directed to the more conspicuous honour of "the LORD's Service on the LORD's Day."

One detail in the improved order of Divine Worship was the Eastward Position at the Altar, which Liddon and Gregory always assumed. It chanced that by a decision of the Judicial Committee in the "Purchas Case" of 1871, this position was pronounced illegal. The Bishop of London¹ sought to enforce this decision in his Cathedral Church, and the "Two Senior Canons," Gregory and Liddon, announced in a published letter to the Bishop that they could not recognize the spiritual authority of the Judicial Committee, and were not prepared to alter their liturgical practice in obedience to its decrees. They invited prosecution, but eventually the Bishop acquiesced in what he could not prevent; and the incident is only mentioned here because it illustrates that intensity of conviction which made Liddon fight even desperately for what the Man in the Street would call a trifle, when he believed that it embodied or expressed a principle. To a Parish Priest whose Bishop was harrying him

¹ Dr. Jackson.

about Ritual, and had ordered the Episcopal rebuke to be recorded in the Archives of the Diocese, Liddon wrote in 1872, "The 'Archives of the Diocese' do not matter much : they contain a great many odd things, you may be sure. 'The Lamb's Book of Life,' if through His Infinite Mercy our names can only be found there at the last, is the only 'archive' worth fidgeting about."

It was this intensity of conviction about the spiritual forces underlying external forms that made Liddon's preaching at S. Paul's so incalculably effective. "No one could suppose that the changes in the Services and Ritual at St. Paul's were superficial, or formal, or of small account, so long as that voice rang on, like a trumpet, telling of righteousness and temperance and judgment, preaching ever and always, with personal passion of belief, JESUS CHRIST and Him crucified."¹

It was Liddon's special strength that, in an age which deifies Nebulosity and mistakes vagueness for depth, he based all that he taught and all that he practised on the dogmatic foundation of the Atoning Sacrifice, offered once for all by Incarnate God.

And now we approach one of those great controversies which so profoundly stirred Liddon's heart and conscience, and in which he was appointed to play so heroic a part.

¹ Dr. Holland.

About this time the forces of unbelief began one of those periodic attacks on the Athanasian Creed, by which, in each succeeding generation, they endeavour to remove the Landmarks of the Faith. The attack was sedulously fomented by Archbishop Tait. The Bishops, as usual, were frightened by the outcry;¹ and even Bishop Wilberforce was in favour of compromises and arrangements. Liddon told him plainly that under existing circumstances the Bishops could not advise the omission of the Creed from Morning Prayer "without being guilty of an act of conspicuous *unfaithfulness to Revealed Truth*."² For his own part his mind was soon made up, and his course was clear. On the 23rd December, 1871, he wrote to Archbishop Tait, "If this most precious Creed is either mutilated by the excision of the (so-termed) Damnatory Clauses, or degraded, by an alteration of the rubric which precedes it, from its present position in the Book of Common Prayer, I shall feel bound in conscience to resign my preferments, and to retire from the ministry of the Church of England."³

¹ In 1872 Liddon wrote—"It is painful and odd that we should associate Bishops so generally with qualities which the ideal of their office does not make room for. Dr. Newman tells us that most of them were much the same in the Arian times. No doubt they were, if, as I suppose, something in the position makes its holders timid and imperious at once, quite oddly."

² The italics are Liddon's.

³ Dr. Pusey announced the same decision.

Archbishop Tait was always intolerant of opposition, and he continued his Anti-Athanasian labours with unabated zeal, being powerfully reinforced by Dr. Thomson, Archbishop of York, and Dr. Stanley, Dean of Westminster. On the 5th of March, 1872, Liddon wrote to a friend—"Men who would be frantic with indignation if the Establishment or its endowments were threatened, look on with tranquil equanimity while the Church is menaced with the loss of her truest treasures. I confess I care little about S. Paul's.¹ . . . What is the good of decorating a temple to the honour of a God Who may, or may not, in the judgment of so many of His ministers, be the Holy Trinity or anything else you like?" On the 10th of August he wrote again—"The Archbishops seem bent upon consummating the *ἀποστασία*, in one way or the other. The only thing that can possibly prevent them will be alarm about the Establishment, and I don't know whether we can inspire them with that. They think, no doubt, that, if they muffle or mutilate the Creed, they will gain more support at one end than they will lose at the other. A formidable *lay* demonstration or remonstrance is the only thing that they will mind."

Two days later he wrote—"There is a fatal

¹ The great scheme for decorating S. Paul's had just been set on foot, as a Memorial of the Prince of Wales' recovery from his serious illness of 1871.

something about the existing positions of our Bishops, which utterly demoralizes them, as defenders of the Faith. They make a certain figure if, like the ———s and the ———s, they are avowedly on the unbelieving side. But they don't dare to go against the tide. Now and then you have a Bishop Hamilton, and I do not forget the noble Bishop of Lincoln¹ in the present controversy. Of the rest, the less said the better : specially of the two Primates, who are really always thinking of the Establishment and their seats in the House of Lords."

Two months later it fell to Liddon's turn, as Select Preacher at Oxford, to occupy the pulpit at S. Mary's. The impressions of the scene have not yet faded from the minds of some who witnessed it. It is the 20th of October, 1872—a bright autumn morning, the yellow sunlight streaming in upon the densely-crowded church, the long array of scarlet-robed Doctors, the beautiful face looking down from the high pulpit, with its anxious brow and wistful gaze. And then the rolling Latin hymn, and then the Bidding Prayer, and then the pregnant text—*He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life ; and he that believeth not the Son shall not see life ; but the wrath of God abideth on him.*

"Are we listening to S. John the Baptist, or S. John the Evangelist?" The preacher holds that we are listening to the Evangelist,

¹ Dr. Wordsworth.

and says that the purpose of S. John's Gospel is condensed into this sentence. "But why should not the text have stopped at the first clause? Why is it not enough to proclaim the blessedness of those who possess life in possessing CHRIST? Why should anything be added as to the loss of those who do not possess Him?" The answer is that, if CHRIST be indeed the SON of GOD, through and in Whom the Perfect Moral Being has spoken to His creatures, to reject Him is to reject GOD. "If to believe Him is life, to have known and yet to reject Him is death. There is no middle term or state between the two. . . . The absolute religion can claim no less than this: it cannot dare to represent its acceptance as other than a strict moral necessity for those to whom it is offered. In fact, this stern, yet truthful and merciful, claim makes all the difference between a Faith and a theory." And now there is a moment's pause. Preacher and hearers alike take breath. Some instinct assures us that we are just coming to the point which is really at issue in the great controversy of the hour. The preacher resumes—"A statement of this truth in other terms is at present occasioning a painful controversy, which it would be better in this place to pass over in silence, if too much was not at stake to warrant a course from which I shall only depart with sincere reluctance. Need I say that I allude to the vexed question of the Athanasian Creed?"

It is proposed in some quarters to excise large portions of that Creed, in others to banish it altogether from the service of the Church. The former of the two alternatives is dismissed with suitable contempt.¹ "The good taste of scholars, and a fitting sense of the immodesty and grotesqueness of any pretension on the part of a merely National Church to alter the terms of a document of world-wide authority, will probably save the Athanasian Creed from the various current schemes for mutilating it." But the expulsion of the Creed from public worship is a more probable event, and the arguments against such expulsion must be stated with clearness and emphasis. "The broad common-sense of the people would argue that the Creed was discarded because it was imagined to be wholly or partly untrue; untrue enough, it would be observed, to be discredited as a formulary for general use, although not sufficiently untrue to be unfitted for solemn Clerical Subscription. The fact would remain patent to all men that, after using the Creed for the last three centuries on all the greatest festivals of the Christian year, the English Church had deliberately abandoned it, and the friends and foes of faith would alike draw their own conclusions as to the meaning of such a step. It would be inferred that the Church of

¹ It has, in these latter days, been carried into effect at Westminster Abbey.

England no longer held belief in the doctrine of the Holy Trinity and of our LORD's Incarnation, as taught by the Church Universal, to be necessary to salvation ; and that she admitted herself to have erred in affirming this necessity since the Reformation, not less than before it. But the Creed would be really rejected because it is too faithful an echo of that Gospel which men do not venture openly to reject."

The conclusion of the great discourse is now drawing nigh, and the preacher gathers up all his energies for the last word of personal application.

"The controversies of our day may do us lasting harm, if they lead us to adhere to our own opinions only because they are our own ; if they send us fuming with our earthly passions into the very sanctuary ; if they estrange from each other hearts which should, in the holiest of causes, be one, and weaken by dividing moral forces which, when united, are none too strong to cope successfully with the energies of evil around us. But, if we should have received in any degree the high and rare grace of an intrepid loyalty to known truth allied to a really unselfish spirit, we too may 'take up serpents, and if we drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt' us. Nay, more—to be forced back upon the central realities of the faith which we profess ; to learn to know and feel, better than ever before, what are the convictions which we dare not surrender at any cost ;

to renew the freshness of an early faith, which affirms within us, clearly and irresistibly, that the one thing worth thinking of, worth living for, if need were, worth dying for, is the unmutilated faith of JESUS CHRIST our LORD ;—these may be the results of inevitable differences, and, if they are, they are blessings indeed.”

To at least one Undergraduate who heard that saying, it became the motto and watch-word of a lifetime. On the afternoon of the same day Liddon wrote—“I have just delivered myself in S. Mary’s on the subject of the Athanasian Creed. The Liberals were there in great force ; and I could feel that I shocked them, though I phrased my positions as warily and as tenderly as I could. However, I feel relieved at having spoken out.”

On the 31st of January, 1873, a great meeting in defence of the Creed was held in S. James’ Hall. Liddon consented to speak, but very reluctantly, as he felt the difficulty of handling sacred themes on a public platform. When he rose to speak, he was greeted by thunders of applause from a densely-packed audience of loyal and grateful churchmen. It must suffice to give the peroration of his speech. “I believe that we have before us, amid all our anxieties, a great future for the Church of England. The hearts of young clergymen, and of young laymen, are being stirred by the HOLY SPIRIT of GOD

as they have not been stirred for many a generation. The great Middle Classes of our towns, too long alienated from our Church, not through their fault but through ours, are being again drawn within the embrace of their true mother. And I cannot believe that He Who has done and is doing of His mercy so much for us will leave us now. I cannot doubt that He will lead us, through the dark valley of controversy and struggle, into a bright future of confirmed faith and unimpaired charity beyond it."

The controversy dragged its slow length along for another six months, but the heart was knocked out of the attack. The Archbishop was beaten and the Creed was saved. The share which must be claimed for Liddon in this victory for the Faith was ruefully admitted by the Archbishop in his Primary Charge.

CHAPTER V.

THE P. W. R. ACT—THE EASTERN QUESTION
—CHANGES AT OXFORD.

THE smoke and din of the Athanasian battle had scarcely cleared away when Liddon found himself summoned to another campaign. Archbishop Tait had shown, from the days when he was one of the "Four Tutors" at Oxford who protested against Tract XC., a natural love of persecuting Tractarians, Puseyites, and Ritualists. Just now he was smarting from defeat, and he was not unwilling to take reprisals on those who had successfully resisted his highhanded policy. Bishop Wilberforce, himself no ritualist but the ritualists' best friend on the Episcopal Bench, was killed by a fall from his horse on the 19th of July, 1873. On the 24th of July, Liddon wrote to his sister—"How wonderful are the ways of GOD! He takes from us the sanctity and the genius, the Hamiltons and the Wilberforces; and He leaves us the prosaic and commonplace selfishness which has got on in the world, the —s and the —s." Mr. Gladstone, notoriously not unfriendly to

Ritualism and a sworn foe of religious tyranny, was dethroned by the General Election of February, 1874, and was succeeded by Mr. Disraeli. Archbishop Tait saw his opportunity, and jumped at it. He introduced a Public Worship Regulation Bill, which, considerably altered at the instance of Lord Shaftesbury and Lord Cairns, passed the House of Lords and went down to the House of Commons. There Disraeli, who believed that Ritualism was unpopular, welcomed it with effusion; and blurted out the brutal truth which prelati cal wiliness had attempted to conceal. "This," he said, "is a Bill to put down Ritualism"—and so it was, at least in the pious intention of its authors.

Of course, Liddon regarded with anxiety the prospect of legislation against the Ritualists. Such a Bill, endorsed by the concurrence of the Episcopate, "would of itself be a scandal to our Church of the gravest kind." He dreaded "the cruelty of the Bishops, or at least some of them." He felt what the Church had lost by Mr. Gladstone's retirement. "The Archbishop would not have ventured on such an enterprise during the late Government's time." When the Bill was passing through Parliament, he preached against it at S. Paul's, denouncing the "unreasoning panic" which dictated it, and the "disregard of the historical structure and spiritual independence of the Church" which

it involved. On the 28th of June he wrote to a friend : " The Archbishop's Bill has engaged the attention of the country to the exclusion of any other subject. It left the House of Lords on Thursday night. Lord Salisbury gave it a parting kick, and the Archbishop a parting benediction ; while other persons assumed the various postures which the occasion appeared to them to require. Of all the disappointments which the matter has caused, the greatest is Lord Selborne. . . . I was unprepared for the placid sophisms of his published letters, and for the violence (it was considerably greater than as reported) of his last speech in the House of Lords. If so good a man can fall so low, what must we not, all of us, fear ? As for the Episcopal Bench, they have been throwing themselves, with ultramontane devotion, at the feet of the two Primates—with the noble exception of the Bishop of Lincoln. . . . The *Guardian* has behaved badly, as it always does on these great occasions."

On the 16th of June, Liddon addressed a great meeting in S. James' Hall, called to protest against the Bill. In his speech, which was enthusiastically received, he affirmed with all possible emphasis, the binding character of the Ornaments Rubric, and repudiated the spiritual authority of the Judicial Committee. He poked bitter fun at " the Giant Intolerance," who seemed to have taken up his abode near Lollard's Tower ; and he declared his unabated

confidence in the success of his cause. "After all," he said in conclusion, "Church Principles are true : they are the substance of the Gospel translated into an energetic and tangible form. They are true, and therefore they are indestructible." So when, in spite of Mr. Gladstone's single-handed opposition, the Bill had become law, Liddon took an unexpectedly cheerful view. "Of course," he said, "there is no reason for despondency. We shall live to see the drowned Egyptians on the sea-shore—even yet." But, at the same time, having regard to the Archbishop's unmistakable designs, he held it was necessary "to reiterate from time to time our thorough dislike of the Bill, and our distrust of the *animus* which will preside at its enforcement ; hinting, too, as prudence may suggest, that there are such things as withdrawal of subscriptions from Church objects, and Disestablishment." That *animus* soon became only too conspicuously apparent. Priest after Priest was thrown into prison, for no more heinous fault than conscientious inability to recognize the spiritual jurisdiction of the new Court established by the Public Worship Regulation Act, and presided over by the Ex-Divorce Judge. Liddon's sympathies were keenly with the sufferers.¹ In

¹ A writer who knew him well, reviewing Principal Johnston's book, said—"When fourteen long years had been allowed to elapse there was ground for expectation that nothing of interest would be suppressed, but that Dr.

1877, he wrote—"Mr. Tooth's sick face in that cage in the court of the gaol quite haunts me."¹ And, on a later occasion, "I feel half-ashamed of myself for going off for a time while Mr. Green is shut up in Lancaster Gaol."² It was with reference to this outbreak of persecution that he wrote to a younger friend on the eve of his ordination in 1877—"The days are troublous for taking Orders: but 'No Cross, no Crown.' They are far better than the old days of sluggishness and death: and, if they bring many anxieties, they are not without some very bright hopes indeed."

Liddon's share in all the great struggles of the Church would be told at length. The imprisonment of the clergy prosecuted under the Public Worship Regulation Act filled his heart and mind to a far greater extent than this volume shews. He grieved for their distress; he grieved yet more that no personal challenge availed to bring him into the same predicament; he admired, almost to envy, those who were suffering for conscience sake. Immediately upon the imprisonment of the Rev. A. Tooth, Liddon went to visit him in Holloway Gaol. During the long imprisonment of the Rev. S. F. Green, when persons to whom the spectacle of such an unflinching loyalty to principle was disagreeable, began to say 'the door was locked on the inside,' Dr. Liddon's characteristic comment was: 'They would have said, had they lived soon enough, to the Apostle Paul, If you would only give up your foolish superstition, you might come out and go all about Rome, and do great service to the gutter-children.'"*Church Quarterly Review*, July, 1905.

¹ The Rev. A. Tooth, Vicar of S. James', Hatcham.

² The Rev. S. F. Green, Vicar of Miles Platting.

In the meantime Liddon had turned for a season from the work of war to that of peace. In September, 1874, he went to Bonn, on the invitation of Dr. Döllinger, to take part in the first of two well-meant but infructuous Conferences on Reunion.¹ "What the Conference had at heart was to deny that the Pope is endowed with an infallibility enabling him to make substantial additions to the received Faith of the Church. . . . For the rest, peace-making is proverbially thankless work, and those who have a hand in it know, or ought to know, their inevitable portion. But, whatever the probabilities of immediate failure, they work for a distant future, and they remember humbly but thankfully Who has promised a blessing on the peace-makers."

In March, 1875, the Archbishops and Bishops, issued a Pastoral Letter deprecating Ritualistic excesses. While regretting that certain of the better-instructed Bishops should have signed the Pastoral, Liddon wrote: "Probably there is a difficulty about holding aloof on these occasions, which persons who are not Bishops cannot enter into; but the fatal incapacity of seeing that, if fault is to be found at all, it must be in all directions, and not in the one which chances to be unpopular, takes the moral force out of all these compositions which come nowadays from Lambeth.

"I hope, with you, that things are looking

¹ He attended the second in 1875.

better than they did some while ago. If we can only have the grace to hold on inflexibly to the whole body of Revealed Sacramental Truth, and yet to avoid exaggerations which are in conflict with our formularies, and which only do the work of Puritanism and Scepticism, we must, *Dei Gratiâ*, win our way. The Sacramental principle, considered as a religious force, is much stronger than anything opposed to it; and there is no sort of reason why it should not make way with the English people in its English shape, instead of being associated with the repellent and unhistorical theories of Rome."

We turn now to a very different field of controversy. In the autumn of 1875, an insurrection against Turkish misrule broke out in Bulgaria, and the Turkish Government despatched a large force to repress it. This was done, and repression was followed by a hideous orgy of massacre and outrage. A rumour of these horrors reached England, and public indignation spontaneously awoke. Disraeli, with a strange frankness of cynical brutality, sneered at the rumour as "coffee-house babble," and made odious jokes about the oriental way of executing malefactors. But Christian England was not to be pacified by these Asiatic pleasantries, and in the autumn of 1876 the country rose in passionate indignation against what were known as "the Bulgarian Atrocities." On the 13th of August, Liddon

made his first contribution to the great controversy in a sermon at S. Paul's.

"Day by day we English are learning that this year of grace 1876 has been signalized by a public tragedy which, I firmly believe, is without a parallel in modern times. . . . Not merely armed men, but young women and girls and babes, counted by hundreds, counted by thousands, subjected to the most refined cruelties, subjected to the last indignities, have been the victims of the Turk." And then comes a fine burst of patriotic indignation: "That which makes the voice falter as we say it is that, through whatever misunderstanding, the Government which is immediately responsible for acts like these has turned for sympathy, for encouragement, not to any of the historical homes of despotism or oppression, not to any other European Power, but alas ! to England—to free, humane, Christian England. The Turk has, not altogether without reason, believed himself, amid these scenes of cruelty, to be leaning on our country's arm, to be sure of her smile, or, at least, her acquiescence !"

It was not in Liddon's nature to sympathize merely by word of mouth with an oppressed and righteous cause ; so, as soon as his term of residence at S. Paul's was over, he started for Eastern Europe, combining a mission of friendship and succour to our persecuted fellow-Christians with some negotiations tending towards reunion with the Eastern Churches.

On September 18th he wrote in his diary : "We passed two chief scenes of the insurrection, and by the bank were a series of Turkish military stations. In front of each of them sat a group of Turks, grave and imperturbable : and close to each [qu. one ?] of those stations, surrounded by a palisade, was an impaled man, and other poles on which insurgents had been impaled. Mr. Odzic said that some of them lived for four days, some only for twelve hours. 'And the men who do these things,' he said, 'are our neighbours—England wills it.'" The publication of this grisly fact drew down on Liddon's head a vehement storm of incredulous abuse ; but all the thunders of the pro-Turkish press were utterly powerless to shake his testimony. "That was a moment never to be forgotten, when Liddon challenged the united hostility of England's Officialdom. And how vivid was his insistence in after years, in making you look through the splendid glasses which had shown him the gruesome sight close at hand : and, then, in contrasting their immediate evidence with that of the British Consul, who, at a distance of eight hundred miles, off and on, from the spot, suggested that it might, possibly, have been a bag of beans on a post, and has got himself believed by all intelligent Englishmen !"¹

Early in October Liddon was back again in England, "even more of an Anti-Turk than he

¹ Dr. Holland.

went out." On December 8th he spoke at a great Conference in S. James's Hall, convoked to consider the state of affairs in Eastern Europe. He declined to treat the issue before the country as a question between Christianity and Mahomedanism, between Truth and Error. He regarded it simply as a question of right or wrong—justice or injustice.

"I do not ask for a law which shall secure exceptional privileges to the Christians. I only ask for a law which shall be just—a law which shall secure to every subject, Mussulman and Christian, equal rights—secure to the Turks the right to live in peace, the right to enjoy their property, secure to them even their harems, so long as their consciences are not sufficiently instructed to wish for something better—but to take from them that which damages them even more than it harms the Christian—the right to injure the latter by continual persecution." And, later, he renewed his protest in the pulpit of S. Paul's, when, as he said in after years, "it seemed possible that this country might be committed to a war in defence of the Mahomedan Power, which for centuries has been the persecutor of the worshippers of CHRIST."¹ In January, 1877, he wrote to a friend: "If we were a Christian people, we should join Russia at once in any measures which may be necessary to *force* Turkey to do justice to her Christian subjects. But, as it is, we shall,

¹ See Preface to *Church Troubles*.

I presume, acquiesce in the deeds of lust and vengeance by which the Turk will now proceed to signalize his victory over the half-hearted friends of his victims." In May, 1877, he wrote: "How really magnificent is the moral position of Mr. Gladstone! He has shown within the last week—what I have always believed about him—that he is thoroughly superior to the petty ties of party which form the moral horizon of ordinary men. Never at any time have I felt so much respect for him as now, when he faces every sort of unpopularity from a simple sense of duty."¹ In 1878 he made a noteworthy confession: "Really the Dissenters have put us to shame in this matter. They were much more likely to have embarrassed a plain moral issue with the utter nonsense which the *Rock* and the Puritanical party generally talks about the superstitions of the Greek Church. To their honour, they have brushed all this away, and gone to the heart of the matter; I must say I have felt drawn to them—not theologically but morally—as never before; 'as the School-authors say, they deserve grace of congruity' for their recent proceedings."²

At one time it was a journalistic fashion to describe Liddon as a Liberal. I propose, later

¹ Mr. Gladstone was then heading the opposition to Turkey, and some of his party declined to follow him.

² See also p. 165.

on, to enquire whether, and in what sense, this term could ever have been properly applied to him : but there was at least one important department of public affairs in which he was the most consistent and tenacious of Conservatives : this was the Reform of the University of Oxford. The moderate changes which were effected by the Act of 1856 were, in the eyes of most people, beneficial ; but Liddon had nothing but blame for "the baneful action of that Secularist tendency which was introduced and disseminated by the University Commission." He disapproved so strongly of the abolition of Tests that he felt in advance that "one will be able to do better work for God somewhere else than in a place which will have done its best to get rid of Him." But, when in 1877 a Conservative Government passed another Act, and issued another Commission to enquire into the condition of the Universities ; and when that Commission recommended changes tantamount to an official secularization of the University and the Colleges, his cup of bitterness overflowed. The first Commission had done a great deal of harm, but the second Commission, engineered by Lord Selborne, had utterly surpassed it. "Alas ! dear friend," he said, "what the locust had left, the *Palmer-worm*¹ hath eaten." "Of all her ancient inheritance in Oxford, the Church

¹ Lord Selborne had been better known in Oxford as Roundell Palmer.

now retains the use of the College Chapels and the Faculty of Divinity; and what is called 'the logic of justice,' with its bold and fallacious assumptions, renders her hold of these remaining fragments most precarious."

Liddon's own plan for dealing with these new and perilous conditions was characteristically thorough. The ancient connexion between Christ Church and the See of Oxford should be dissolved. Christ Church should henceforward be merely one of the ordinary Colleges, and the Bishop's throne and capitular establishment should be removed to S. Mary's Church. The spiritual needs of the Undergraduates should be served by a College of Priests, living in community, in a house having no connexion with the University. He had already frustrated a design to have the Chapel of Keble College consecrated, inasmuch as, if it were consecrated, it must follow the legal fortunes of the Church in Oxford. His own personal ties with the University were growing weaker. He had lost in 1873 his seat on the Hebdomadal Council. In 1882, on Dr. Pusey's death, he determined that it was his duty to write "the Doctor's" Life, and, in order to secure the necessary leisure, he resigned the Professorship of Exegesis,¹ and

¹ One who used to attend his professorial lectures "in a shabby little room in the Clarendon Building" reports that, towards the end of his professorship, Liddon said, "I used to get sixty men, and now I get six."

ceased to preach before the University. His only official connexion with Oxford was his Studentship at Christ Church, and Christ Church he henceforth used chiefly as a place of quiet study, where he could work at Dr. Pusey's Life more uninterruptedly than at Amen Court.

It was, perhaps, with the view of marking a change in his relations with the University that, in 1879, he published his second and last Series of University Sermons. They range from 1869 to 1878; and the latest in date might, if comparisons in such matters were possible, be considered the greatest sermon that he ever delivered. It is called "Worth of Faith in a Life to Come." It was preached on November 10th, 1878: it dealt with the majestic theme of life continuous through and after death; and it had special reference to the recent departure of a peculiarly bright and saintly spirit.¹

The sermon ended thus: "Suffer me to add in conclusion a few words which may be remembered in years to come. The expectation of a life after death enables us to see things in their true proportions. The future life furnishes us with a point of view from which to survey the questions, the occupations, the events of this. Until we keep it well before us, we are like those persons who have never travelled, and have no standard by which to estimate what they see at home. Next to positive error, a

¹ Sarah Acland (1815-1878) wife of Sir Henry Acland, M.D., Regius Professor of Medicine at Oxford.

mistake as to the relative proportions of truths is the greatest misfortune. But who does not feel, every day of his existence, how easily this mistake is made? Some occurrence which touches us personally appears to be of world-wide importance. Some book which we have fallen in with, and have read with sympathy, or perhaps have helped to write, seems to mark an epoch in literature or in speculation. Some controversy, with its petty but absorbing ferocities, . . . appears, through its present relation to ourselves, to touch all interests in earth and heaven. Self magnifies and distorts everything; the true corrective is to be found in the magnificent and tranquillizing thought of another life. As men draw near to the threshold of Eternity, they see things more nearly as they are; they catch perspectives which are not perceived in the days of business and of health. When Bossuet lay a-dying, in great suffering and exhaustion, one who was present thanked him for all his kindness, and, using the courtly language of the day, begged him when in another world to think of the friends whom he was leaving, and who were so devoted to his person and his reputation. At this last word, Bossuet, who had almost lost the power of speech, raised himself from the bed, and gathered strength to say, not without an accent of indignation, 'Don't talk like that. Ask God to forgive a sinner his sins.'

“And surely those occupations should claim our first attention, which prepare us for that which, after all, is the really important stage of our existence. All kinds of earthly duty may, indeed, be consecrated to this work by a worthy motive ; but direct preparation for the future is made in worship. In the most solemn moments which we can spend on earth, we hear the words, “The Body of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, Which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life.’ Nay, all Christian worship is, in proportion to its sincerity, an anticipation of the Life of the World to come. Worship is the earthly act by which we most distinctly recognize our personal immortality ; men who think that they will be extinct a few years hence do not pray. In worship we spread out our insignificant life, which yet is the work of the Creator’s hands, and the purchase of the Redeemer’s Blood, before the Eternal and All-merciful, that we may learn the manners of a higher sphere, and fit ourselves for companionship with saints and angels, and for the everlasting sight of the Face of God. Worship is the common-sense of faith in a life to come ; and the hours we devote to it will assuredly be among those upon which we shall reflect with most thankful joy, when all things here shall have fallen into a very distant background, and when, through the Atoning Mercy, our true home has been reached at last.”

CHAPTER VI.

WORK IN LONDON—BISHOPRICS—THE EAST.

DR. HOLLAND says in his delightful book of *Personal Studies*;¹ "I was Proctor when Liddon preached the sermon which bade all Churchmen wipe the dust off their feet, and abandon Oxford for Zanzibar, where they might give themselves to the service of the Catholic Creed." Happily for the cause of the Catholic Creed in this country, Liddon bethought himself in time that the inhabitants of London, as well as those of Zanzibar, have souls to be saved; and, when the official ties which had bound him to Oxford were severed, S. Paul's became the centre of his life and ministry; as it was already, in Bishop Lightfoot's striking phrase, "the centre of the world's concourse." His home was gladdened by the companionship of his younger sister, Mrs. Ambrose, and he spent a good deal of his leisure with another sister, Mrs. Poole King. He loved travelling, both in England and abroad; liking to find himself "out of the way of gossip and the English language," but liking also, in its turn, the easy

¹ *Personal Studies*, by Henry Scott Holland. (Wells Gardner & Co.)

and joyous life of English country houses. At Hatfield he was an annual visitor, and he was warmly attached to both Lord and Lady Salisbury. Lord Beauchamp and Sir Robert Phillimore were friends whom he highly valued, and his letters are full of happy allusions to Madresfield and "The Coppice." Perhaps his most intimate friends, in the generation immediately below his own, were Lord and Lady Halifax, and his visits to them at Hickleton or Powderham were always seasons of peculiar pleasure. For Lord Halifax's sister, Mrs. Meynell-Ingram, he felt a respect and an admiration which all the world must have shared if only it had enjoyed the opportunity: and his words about the Church of the Holy Angels at Hoar Cross, which she built, are so characteristic as to deserve reproduction: "It must be a matter for great thankfulness to God that you have been enabled to offer Him so beautiful a gift, which will be a mute prophet of faith and reverence long after we have passed away." But all these enjoyments belonged only to his brief and rare intervals of holiday-making: his daily life was spent in strenuous and even exhausting labour. There was the mental effort of preparing, and the physical effort of delivering, his great sermons at S. Paul's; there was the unseen but incessant business which devolved on him as a member of the Chapter; there was a correspondence which

ranged over the whole world, and touched every topic in theology and morals ; there was the ministry to individual souls in Sacramental Confession ; and, superadded to all these labours, the stupendous toil of writing Dr. Pusey's "Life." Into this self-imposed task he threw himself with a too-conscientious diligence. The physical and mental task of coping with the huge mass of undigested material which Pusey had left behind him overtaxed his strength, and this was only subsidiary to the constructive effort which was required in order to present the Doctor's personality and teaching in a vivid light to a generation which had already begun to forget him. The assumption of this gigantic labour was Liddon's great mistake, and, in the judgment of Principal Johnston, who had the best means of knowing, "beyond any other one cause, it led to his early death." But, if the energy bestowed on Dr. Pusey's "Life" was to some extent Love's Labour Lost, the energy bestowed on the sermons at S. Paul's was most gloriously and fruitfully expended. Liddon was, as Lord Acton said, "assuredly the greatest power in the conflict with sin, and in turning the souls of men to God," that England then possessed, or had possessed for generations. When he spoke to the people of London under the dome of S. Paul's, he seemed to speak in the spirit and power of S. Paul himself.

“He was one of those few, those very few, from whose lips we could bear to hear without an apology such strong and awful words as these which came from the innermost soul of the great Apostle. So few of us have the right to use this great language. From so few can it come without a sense of unfitness, of disqualification, of presumption. We are so blinded by this world’s dust and turmoil; we are so clouded by compromise and hesitation; we are so insincere, so unconverted, so earthly; we are so far, far, from these high visions and piercing calls. The burning flames that leap through the speech of S. Paul are not for us to touch without offence, without peril.

“But he! he was different; to him they seemed akin: he understood; he had the right to take them on his tongue. We asked for no apology from him; we murmured under no questioning qualification. As they rang out from his lips (and whoever could make Scripture ring as he did?) their original force seemed to reach and touch us across all the dividing years. No insincerity withheld it. No half-hearted allegiance made them falter in their coming. ‘The world,’ with its worries, its disputes, its vanities, its beguilements, its pettiness, its greeds—the world threw no veiling mist between us and those Divine appeals. He who spoke to us had got past all that. He had pushed his way up through all the tangle. He was not afraid of what was

involved in facing the truth. He at least was ready for the sacrifice. He had counted the cost. And so, by virtue of that sincerity, of that purged eye, he, we felt, saw something of that vision which the Apostle opens to us. That inner world was real and substantial to him. That fiery zeal had its echo in him. That ever-climbing life of grace upon grace had come within his ken. His life was a cleansed channel down which the news of it might pass to us." ¹

The period which we are now considering covers, roughly, the last ten years of Liddon's life. The first great event of that decade was the dethronement of Lord Beaconsfield by the General Election of 1880. However little of a Liberal Liddon was in reference to several matters of public controversy, he was able to rejoice whole-heartedly in Mr. Gladstone's victory over the Turk, the Tory and the *Times*. When the question of a successor to Lord Beaconsfield became acute, and there were ominous rumours that the Liberal Prime Minister was to be Lord Granville or Lord Hartington, Liddon declared himself against either selection with equal emphasis. "They did not say a word for the Christian Cause in 1876, and they would rob the Liberal triumph of all moral interest whatever. . . . The anguish of the *Pall Mall* is most edifying, and is a measure of the wound

¹ Dr. Holland.

which cultivated ungodliness feels that it has received."

Meanwhile, events of grave importance were occurring or impending in the Church. The Public Worship Regulation Act had come into operation in 1875. The Puritan party, sanguine that their opportunity had arrived, went gaily to work, spying and reporting and delating and prosecuting, with curious results. They did not indeed destroy Ritual, and they fomented "Ritualism;" but, as we have already seen, they succeeded in putting some excellent clergymen into prison, and keeping them there for considerable periods. "The imprisoned clergy would not recognize the authority of Lord Penzance as an ecclesiastical judge, and they went to prison rather than commit themselves to any action which would imply such recognition."

The spectacle of these imprisonments for conscience' sake did not favourably impress the English people; and it weighed heavily on the hearts of all who, like Liddon, believed that the clergy were right and the Courts wrong. "What a hideously unchristian thing Puritanism is!" he wrote to an intimate friend; and just at the same time he was uttering his thoughts on the topic of Persecution, in a more restrained but a more public form. On the Sunday afternoons in December 1880, he preached at S. Paul's the four sermons which he published under the title of

Thoughts on Present Church Troubles. A rumour had got abroad that the sermons would deal with the ecclesiastical prosecutions, and it was remarked at the time that the preacher had never before addressed such vast and such distinguished congregations. As a matter of fact, the allusions to current events were studiously guarded ; but they were unmistakable. The idleness of trying to repress conviction by force ; the attractive power of suffering for conscience' sake ; the folly of trying to cramp by minute regulation the free life of a growing Church—these were allusions which no one could fail to apprehend. In publishing the sermons, Liddon admitted that the title might seem to promise something more distinctly polemical than what it actually introduced. But, he said, the sermons contained “two or three explicit statements of opinion which had attracted a certain amount of public notice ; and moreover, when treating of topics immediately suggested by the Church Services of the day, their language was at times shaped or coloured by occurrences and reflections which no man, to whom the interests of CHRIST'S Kingdom in this country are dear, could, at least in his more serious moments, hope just now to forget. . . . When challenged to do so, a clergyman is especially bound to accept the full responsibility which may attach to his public utterances ; and this reason may sufficiently count alike for the

publication and for the title of the present work."

But the rancour of the "Church Association" was proof even against Liddon's eloquence and wisdom ; against the spectacle, again renewed, of an imprisoned Priest ; against the temporizing language of prelates who began to feel frightened at the results of their handiwork. The Association had other weapons besides imprisonment in their armoury. The long series of prosecutions by which S. Alban's, Holborn, had been harrassed, reached in 1882 a point at which it seemed certain that the devoted Mr. Mackonochie would be deprived of his benefice. Some ingenious friends of the persecuted priest suggested a way of escape by means of exchange. Mackonochie should resign S. Alban's ; the Rev. R. A. J. Suckling should resign S. Peter's, London Docks ; the patrons of S. Alban's should appoint Mr. Suckling, and the patrons of S. Peter's should appoint Mr. Mackonochie. It might well have been that the Bishop of London would refuse his consent to this curious arrangement ; and, on the other hand, it was by no means certain that Mackonochie would acquiesce in it. But, at the critical juncture, Archbishop Tait, who was already on his death-bed, intervened. He wrote to the Bishop, and to Mackonochie, strongly urging compliance with the suggested course. His counsel prevailed, and the exchange was effected.

This intervention was Archbishop Tait's last official act. He died on Advent Sunday, 1882. Beyond question, he was what Mr. Gladstone once called him—"A considerable person," and I am not disposed in this place to pronounce judgment on his character and administration. On December 4th, 1882, Liddon wrote: "All that can be said is that the late Archbishop had a conscientious desire to do something on a scale worthy of his great position—only, unfortunately, his unhappy education was fatal to any true sense of *what* to do." At the beginning of 1883 a movement was started to raise a "National Memorial" to the Archbishop; and to a friend who thought of subscribing Liddon wrote as follows: "We, High Churchmen, must feel grateful to him for what he did on his death-bed to promote the peace of the Church, in the matter of Mackonochie and Suckling. But is this a reason for a 'Memorial?' Was not the act on his death-bed an attempt to undo one part of the wrong which he had done to the Church—I do not say intentionally—in his life? Can we rightly forget the history of the Poole¹ persecution, of the *Essays and Reviews*, of the Colenso case, of the Divorce Bill, of the attack on the Creed of S. Athanasius, of the Public Worship Regulation Bill? Was not the whole drift and purpose of the late Arch-

¹ A curate whom Tait, when Bishop of London, persecuted for hearing Confessions.

bishop's life hostile to principles which we hold dear? And, if so, what is the moral value of our share in a memorial to him? . . . and will not a memorial of this sort destroy the *moral* value of other memorials, which are intended to express deep and heartfelt gratitude to God for the works and example of the saintly dead?" Again—"A memorial is a tribute to services rendered to the Church. What has he done—except in the way of undoing his own mistakes—that really deserves it? Alas! he certainly *has* helped the Church of England on the downward road that leads to repudiation of all faith and principle whatever, more effectually than any one who has been in high places in our day. It is one thing to draw a veil over the mistakes of those who have gone before the Eternal Judge. It is another to rank them with the courageous and the self-denying servants of CHRIST."

The death of Archbishop Tait and the elevation of Bishop Benson to Canterbury made a vacancy on the Episcopal Bench, and set people speculating on names and qualifications. The late Lord Salisbury, whose experience of ecclesiastical patronage was unequalled, used to say that the English clergy could be exhaustively divided into two classes—those who wished to be Bishops and were unfit; and those who were fit but unwilling. All through 1883 and 1884, Liddon's admirers were, quite unknown to himself, pressing him on Mr.

Gladstone as a man who, alike on personal and on public grounds, ought to be made a Bishop. By the end of 1884 there were several vacancies actual or imminent. Dr. Moberly, Bishop of Salisbury, was old and infirm; Dr. Wordsworth had announced his intention of resigning Lincoln. On January 6th, 1885, Dr. Jackson, Bishop of London, died suddenly. If his successor were brought from some other diocese, there would be yet another See to fill.

At this juncture, Mr. Gladstone was most strongly urged to appoint Liddon to London; but he took another and a much less satisfactory course. He sent a message to Liddon, through Dean Church, enquiring whether he would "take a Bishopric," but making no specific proposal. To put the question in this form to a man of Liddon's principles and temperament was to ensure refusal. It seems, on the whole, likely that if the See of London had been definitely offered, Liddon would have felt it impossible to decline. The opportunity which it afforded of witnessing for truth in one of the most conspicuous places in the Church was too great to have been declined; and the charge of London, vast as it is, would not have been fatally incompatible with his state of health and habits of life. But in the Diocese of Exeter or Lincoln he would have felt himself wholly out of place; and to say "Yes" to Mr. Gladstone's question would have implied a

readiness to accept any See which might be offered. This seemed to Liddon impossible. It would have been "false to the whole Tractarian (*i.e.*, the Patristic and Catholic) tradition on the subject. What would S. Ambrose have said to a willingness to accept a Bishopric *in the abstract*? What would Dr. Pusey or Mr. Keble have said? My reply was that I earnestly hoped to be spared the great anxiety of answering such a question. This put an end to the matter for good and all." Thus, not for the first or last time, Mr. Gladstone failed to perceive true greatness of character and intellect, and exalted mediocrity to the highest place.¹

In the summer of this year—1885—Liddon's health, never very robust, began to give way. He suffered greatly from rheumatism and allied affections, among them a disabling pain in the head. On the 15th of June he wrote: "Sir H. Acland said that I ought to go off at once; and Dr. Gray, that, if I tried to preach, he would not answer for the consequences. And even now I have difficulty in writing this—such is the state of my head."

June 18.—"I am laid up to-day with a pain in the head which makes me almost quite deaf, and unable to say much more."

¹ It is only fair to add that in *The Impregnable Rock of Holy Scripture* Mr. Gladstone spoke of Liddon's death as having "extinguished a light of the English Church, singularly bright and pure."

June 28.—“My head is still very troublesome.”

August 11.—“My illness has reduced my correspondence to about three or four letters a day !”

Acting on the advice of his life-long friend, Dr. Ogle,¹ he determined to spend the winter and spring in Egypt and the Holy Land. A history of the journey has been published by his sister, Mrs. King, who, with one of her daughters, accompanied him.² Just before he sailed he wrote to Lady Halifax a letter to which a pathetic interest attaches. Six years before he had become Godfather to her youngest son. The child was christened Henry Paul, in honour of his Godfather and of the Apostle on whose feast he was born. “It would,” wrote Liddon, “be impossible to improve upon the names, considering all the circumstances. I am so glad that he was born on S. Paul’s Day, and may thus, in an especial way, claim the great Apostle as his own, all through his life, and after it.” Now, on the

¹ The Lent Lectures of 1870 are dedicated
To

JOHN WILLIAM OGLE, ESQ., M.D.,
OF TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD,
WHOSE WORK AND CHARACTER SUGGEST
MANY PRECIOUS LESSONS
WHICH HE NEVER THINKS OF
TEACHING.

² *Dr. Liddon’s Tour in Egypt and Palestine in 1886.*
(Longmans.)

eve of his departure for the East, he wrote thus to the boy's mother :—

“Before leaving England on a health-voyage to the East, I am anxious to send my godson a Prayer Book, and am making bold to ask you to keep it for him until his next birthday. Will you give it to him on that day, and tell him that I pray that he may one day be a very good and useful man ?” Before the godfather returned to England, the godson was dead, and Liddon wrote to the sorrowing mother with characteristic insight and tenderness. “I had indeed built much on the possible future in this world of my dear godson ; but his future is now, in the best sense, secure. . . . Certain it is that, fifty years hence, when we are all together in another world, he will express his delight at not having lived long enough to offend our LORD by committing deadly sin ; and the Divine Love and Wisdom which took him away will be fully revealed to us.” And again—“Not a day passes, but does not suggest how happy are they whom God takes to Himself before they have seriously offended Him.” And, at the following Easter, Liddon wrote to Lord Halifax—“Dear Henry Paul has been much in my mind, especially at my Easter Celebration. I am sure that he is spending an even happier Easter this year than he did last. How much to be envied are those who are taken young !”

Mr. Gladstone's second Administration came to an end in June, 1885. He was succeeded by Lord Salisbury, who, for whatever reason, did not appoint Liddon to the See of Salisbury, which became vacant in July, 1885. He did, however, offer him the Deanery of Worcester. This was declined on the following grounds : "I do not think that an offer of mere preferment to higher dignity and larger income constitutes any claim upon the conscience ; and on this point, as on so many others, the old Tractarian feeling . . . is profoundly opposed to that commercial view of the higher offices in the Church which was very sincerely held by the old Latitudinarians. In the army, it is natural enough that a Captain should be uneasy until he is a Major, and a Major until he is a Colonel, and a Colonel until he is a General. 'But ye shall not be so,' is surely our Master's rule, and the craving for preferment, which prevails so largely among the English clergy, is one of the secrets of our moral weakness as an Order." The offer of the Deanery reached Liddon at Cairo. Six months later, at Constantinople, he heard that he had been elected Bishop of Edinburgh. This offer he also declined, partly on the ground that the Bishops of the Church of Scotland should be Scotchmen. "So long as they are Englishmen, that Church will always wear the appearance of an English importation in the eyes of the Presbyterian majority, whose conversion will thus be

rendered more difficult by a sense of slighted national feeling. . . . I should not forgive myself if I were in my own person to aid an evil tradition of seeking Bishops for Scotland south of the Tweed, which I have deplored ever since I have been able to think about these things seriously at all."

Liddon's journey in the East was an immense and unqualified success. He enjoyed the riding, though quite unused to it; he enjoyed the warmth and brightness, he enjoyed the ever-changing variety of scene, he enjoyed the opportunity of seeing the religion of the Holy Orthodox Churches at close quarters, observing their daily life and work, and discussing the problems which divide Christendom with the occupants of the Patriarchal Thrones. Above all he revelled, with all the rapt devotion which was his innermost nature, in the sacred associations of the places which he visited.

"The Patriarch of Jerusalem allowed me to celebrate in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, in the Chapel of Abraham, which is on the Hill of Calvary, and parted only by a thin screen from the Chapels of Calvary, Greek and Latin." "One of the greatest pleasures of being in the East is the extraordinary relish, if I may use the word, which all that one does and hears gives to the Old Testament. The habits of the people, their whole bearing and aspect, suggest the Bible." When living in a tent on

the Mount of Olives, he wrote that, though the distance from Jerusalem was a drawback, "the associations of the Sacred Hill and the constant view of the Holy City counterbalance *all else*. Only one feels that breakfast and dinner are a sort of desecration: it is like eating in the Choir of a Church." Again—"Our LORD seems to have sanctioned the æsthetic principle by deigning to choose so beautiful a neighbourhood for some of the great scenes of His life on earth. The pleasure of witnessing the real framework of His Earthly Sojourn—which one had hitherto only imagined—is indescribable. I wonder how I can have let so many years pass by without making a great effort to see spots, compared with which the interest of all else on earth is tame indeed."

But even among scenes so august, and memories so moving, Liddon's sense of humour (of which more will be said later on) could not lie dormant. At Jerusalem, during Divine Service on Easter Eve, "I fear I had my pocket picked on the stairs of Mount Calvary." At Cairo, "a camel suddenly gobbled and spat at me—a curious variation of the look of tranquil disdain with which these beasts generally regard everything, as if they were Heads of Houses of the old type." As to the disputed site of Calvary, he wrote—"General Gordon seems to have taken up the 'new site' with great fervour, and this settles the question with all those many persons who

think that a good man, a good engineer, and a brave soldier must necessarily be an antiquarian and a Biblical scholar to boot." As Dr. Holland says, Liddon never firmly denied the famous story of his backsheesh, which was so large that it enabled his dragoman to add a new wife to his establishment. He entered into the domestic perplexities of the captain of his dahabeah, whose wife at Assouan complained bitterly that the other wife at Cairo had all the fun, and pleaded that each should have a spell of the gay city, turn and turn about. "Liddon entirely sympathized with this claim for equal justice, and gave his judgment in favour of the lady at Assouan."

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CHAPTER VII.

MR. BELL COX—"JERUSALEM BISHOPRIC"—
S. PAUL'S REREDOS—LINCOLN TRIAL.

LIDDON returned from his Eastern pilgrimage in greatly improved health and spirits ; but unluckily found himself almost immediately involved in a series of controversies which told heavily on his mental and physical strength. The first of these concerned the Rev. J. Bell Cox, Vicar of S. Margaret's, Liverpool, who, having been prosecuted for alleged excesses in ritual and having declined to defend himself before Lord Penzance's Court, was imprisoned for Contempt. This case was more scandalous than any which had gone before ; for, as Dean Church remarked, "they were in the thick of battle, and in hot blood. This comes after all has cooled down." The gross unfairness, as between one section of Churchmen and another, which was exhibited by all this one-sided discipline, disgusted everyone in whom the sense of justice was not dead. Dignitaries were allowed to "make open questions of the Personality of God, and the fact of the Resurrection, and the promise of immortality," while Mr. Cox was sent to prison "for having

lighted candles and mixing water with the wine.”¹ It happened that, just at the time when this case was attracting attention, Mr. Balfour, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, was congenially occupied in imprisoning Irish Nationalists. This coincidence seems to have powerfully impressed the mind of a certain dignitary for whom Liddon felt a very imperfect sympathy. “I agree,” he wrote to a friend, “in your distrust of the Dean of ——. He has two faces to the two worlds in which he moves, or would wish to move.” And again, “The Dean of —— has been staying in Oxford. Gore preached the Gospel to him, but without effecting any marked results. This Dean has all the airs of a Nuncio—only not from the See of Peter.”

It would seem that “this Dean” drew an ingenious parallel between the imprisonment of Mr. Cox and the imprisonment of the Irish Nationalists. Both were legal, and therefore both must be right. On this contention Liddon, writing on the 19th of March, 1887, commented as follows:—“I return you the Dean of ——’s grotesque letter—grotesque, because he writes as if he were quite certainly talking straight out of the Oracle. . . . If the letter has *any* argument in it, it assumes as a major premiss that no human law is, in any circumstances, to be resisted—an assumption which would make short work with the

¹ See *Dean Church*, p. 151.

Apostles and Martyrs. If this assumption is not made, then the case of the Irish, and the case of Mr. Cox, must each be argued on its own merits ; and it is at least conceivable that, in resisting the law, the Irish may be wrong, and Mr. Cox may be right. And, if this should be so, a further question would arise, viz., whether those whose consciences oblige them, much against their will, to resist what is wrongly called "law," ought to disobey their consciences, lest they should encourage other persons, who disobey unquestioned law, from motives into which conscience does not enter—at least prominently ? If this is so, then the Apostles ought not to have disobeyed the Sanhedrim in Jerusalem, lest they should give encouragement to the *Sicarii* who are denounced by Horace and Cicero. Ought not more attention to be given to logic, before people are made Deans ?"

The next controversy concerned the restoration of the English Bishopric in Jerusalem, to which Archbishop Benson had in a moment of aberration committed himself. The establishment of that bishopric in 1841 was one of the events which "broke" Newman, and helped to drive him out of the Church of England : its other results were inconsiderable. The plan was that the Queen of England and the King of Prussia were each in turn to nominate a Bishop, who should be consecrated by

English prelates, and should exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Anglican clergy and Lutheran ministers in Syria. This arrangement seemed to ignore the fundamental difference between an Apostolic priesthood and a man-made ministry; the intrusion of a nondescript Bishop into the Patriarchate of Jerusalem was an outrage on all historical conceptions of the Church; and, as a matter of fact, the energies of the anomalous Mission were often directed to the end of weaning Oriental Christians from their spiritual allegiance, and turning them from Orthodox to Protestant.

In 1881 the third of these Anglican Bishops in Jerusalem died, and this time the appointment lay with the German Emperor, as King of Prussia. However, he did not move in the matter, and it looked as if the ill-omened enterprise had died of natural causes. But towards the end of 1886 a rumour went abroad that the Bishopric was likely to be restored. Liddon, fresh from intercourse with the Eastern Patriarchs, who had said, with perfect justice, that the Anglican professions of good-will towards the Orthodox Church did not closely accord with a good deal of Anglican practice in the East, was horrified by a proposal so reactionary. He wrote an intensely anxious letter to the Archbishop, praying that he might be authorized to contradict the rumour. The Archbishop replied that the Foreign

Office did not yet know whether Prussia would be ready to renounce her share in the arrangement of 1841, and pointed out some difficulties with regard to the endowments of the Bishopric.¹ By the Archbishop's wish, the state of the case was made public in the *Guardian*.² A violent storm of controversy arose, Protestants clamouring for the restoration of the Bishopric, and Catholics protesting. In February, 1887, the Archbishop wrote to Liddon that Prussia had finally withdrawn, and that he was going to consecrate an English Bishop who should be "Bishop of the Church of England in Jerusalem and in the East," and who should discountenance all proselytization among the Eastern Christians. So far, the plan was obviously a great improvement on that of 1841; but Liddon was profoundly dissatisfied. The new Bishop was to draw his

¹ On this point Liddon wrote to the Archbishop—"If hereafter it should be discovered that any funds now devoted to the maintenance of a Bishop at Jerusalem are placed at your Grace's disposal, that they may be devoted in some other way to the furtherance of Christianity in Palestine, might I suggest that they might furnish an annual grant to the Patriarch, with the object of enabling him to print LXX. Copies of the Old Testament, the New Testament in Greek and Arabic, and, perhaps, some of the Early Fathers, at the Press of the Holy Sepulchre?" The Archbishop notes the suggestion in his diary, and quaintly adds, "Is such a man serious, or does he think I am?"

² Archbishop Benson's comment, *Life*, Vol. II., p. 165, is scarcely reconcilable with the case thus stated by Principal Johnston.

income from irresponsible Societies, one, at any rate, of which had been deeply implicated in the proselytizing policy of former years. On May 4th, 1887, he wrote: "Yesterday the S.P.C.K. voted £300 to the Archbishop of Canterbury for Bishop Blyth to spend on schools which are *not* engaged in promoting schism. This is meant as a set-off against the patronage which he will be obliged to extend to those that are. Was there ever anything so humiliating as the whole of this fiasco? And the odd thing is that all the time the Archbishop supposes himself to be acting as a High Churchman should."

The next controversy arose over the new Reredos erected by the Dean and Chapter in S. Paul's Cathedral. Of this Reredos the central feature was a representation of our LORD on the Cross, and it was crowned by the figure of our Lady carrying the Divine Child. Some Puritan malcontents instituted a suit under the Public Worship Regulation Act against the Dean and Chapter, and the suit was vetoed by the Bishop of London.¹ The promoters of the suit applied to the Court of Queen's Bench, where Lord Chief Justice Coleridge and Mr. Justice Manisty (Mr. Baron Pollock dissenting) decided against the Dean and Chapter. Lord Coleridge's Judgment, vulnerable indeed in point of law,

¹ Dr. Temple.

was delightful for humour and sarcasm. On June 4th, 1889, Liddon wrote to a friend : "The Judgment on our Reredos will be given this morning. But as, I apprehend, there will be an Appeal in any case, the interest is limited to the effect which this move will have upon the future chances of the game."

After the delivery of the Judgment, he wrote : "Of course, Lord C. only retains the shell of his old principles : but, as you read his judgment, you see that he knows, and has once felt, a great deal which is an unknown world to a mere ordinary lawyer like Mr. Justice Manisty. . . . I hear that Lord Grimthorpe says that Lord C.'s Judgment will not stand. Lord G. no doubt thinks that Lord C. has missed a great opportunity. Had Lord G. presided in the Queen's Bench the blander features of Lord C.'s oratory would have been eliminated, and the Dean and Chapter would have been told the plain truth about their misdoings in that vigorous English to which we are all accustomed. But that, after doing his best, Lord C. should be thrown overboard by Lord G., is too hard."

The Judgment of the Queen's Bench was duly carried to the Court of Appeal, and was there upset ; the Bishop's veto was sustained, and the Reredos was saved. Thus the Dean and Chapter were finally upheld in a work which cost them an infinity of thought, care, and expense ; but the worry entailed by the suit

was just one more burden on Liddon's already over-burdened back.

The next controversy was, to adopt Liddon's phrase, a far more serious "move in the game." The Church Association, tired of its infructuous victories over Ritualistic Priests, valiantly resolved to prosecute a Bishop. The prelate selected as the subject of the experiment was Liddon's life-long friend, Edward King, Bishop of Lincoln. The Association raised a special subscription, and "went to work in a most business-like way, sending delegates to attend services at which the Bishop officiated, as ordinary worshippers; and, however inconsistent it may appear, to attend (not, however, as communicants) at the Celebration of the Sacrament of Christian Unity."¹

The points on which the Bishop was attacked were the Eastward Position at the Altar, lighted candles on it, the mixture of water with the wine in the Chalice, the *Agnus Dei* after the Consecration, the Sign of the Cross at the Absolution and the Blessing, and the ablution of the sacred vessels. The Bishop's offences were committed in Lincoln Minster on December 4th, and in the Parish Church of S. Peter-le-Gowts, Lincoln, on December 18th, 1887. In June, 1888, the Church Association addressed the Archbishop, stating that the Bishop had been guilty of

¹ *Life of Archbishop Benson*, Vol. II., p. 320.

illegal acts, and begging him, in virtue of his office, to cite and try his Suffragan. A vast commotion immediately arose. Some great authorities doubted whether the Archbishop possessed the requisite jurisdiction; some thought that he would be unwise to exercise it; some held that he possessed it and should exercise it by dismissing the suit; some said that, if he attempted to try the Bishop, he would be condemned by the Secular Courts; others that, if he declined to try him, the Secular Courts would compel him to do so. Beset by these many and conflicting difficulties, the Archbishop conferred freely with legal flesh and blood. "Dean Davidson¹ was in this matter, as in so many, his intimate friend and counsellor." Dean Church called the authority of the Archbishop's Court "altogether nebulous." Liddon wrote to his friend and former colleague, Bishop Lightfoot: "The Archbishop is presumably approached, quâ Archbishop, and presumably as having a large discretionary jurisdiction, not necessarily controlled by recent legal decisions. It is most earnestly to be hoped that he may exercise this by dismissing the charges as 'frivolous.' That such a person as the Bishop of Lincoln should be exposed to the vexation of legal proceedings is a serious misfortune to the Church — much more serious than to the Bishop himself, who would probably regard

¹ Afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

it simply as an opportunity for growth in Christian graces. But, as a consequence of his rare and rich gift of spiritual sympathy, the number of people in all classes of society who look up to him with a strong personal respect and affection is probably quite unrivalled in the case of any other prominent Churchman of the same type, and the mere apprehension of his being attacked is already creating widespread disquietude. Anything like a condemnation would be followed by consequences which I do not venture to anticipate."

It is obvious that the Archbishop longed to assert and exercise his jurisdiction, and to sit in judgment on the successor of S. Hugh; but he was not quite sure whether he could. Reference was therefore made, on his suggestion, to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, who were of opinion that he had jurisdiction, and accordingly "humbly advised Her Majesty to remit the case to the Archbishop to be dealt with according to law." Thus encouraged, the Archbishop went forward, and cited the Bishop to appear before him at Lambeth on February 12th, 1889. Liddon recommended that the Bishop should demur to the single-handed jurisdiction of the Archbishop, and should demand a hearing before the Bishops of the Province. "The more I think of it," he wrote on February 6th, "the clearer it is to me that, as a broad question of principle, and

in view of his example upon the future of the Church, the Bishop is right in making this appeal to the Comprovincial Bishops, with the Primate." On the 12th the trial began: the Archbishop having appointed five Episcopal Assessors to comfort and abet him, but to have no share in the Judgment. The Bishop duly made his protest, which the Archbishop allowed to be argued at a later date. On February 14th Liddon wrote: "The Archbishop somehow seems to bury great issues out of the sight, at any rate, of his own mind, beneath a mass of drapery and phrases; and the great ecclesiastical ladies who flit about in the surrounding atmosphere add an element of grotesqueness to the whole thing which makes it difficult to keep its great seriousness steadily in view.¹ . . . One thing is certain—that Church principles could not possibly have had a morally-worthier representative—and this is a blessing the full value of which it is difficult to take in all at once."

Eventually the Archbishop decided to disregard his Comprovincials, and to try the case on his own responsibility. The trial, therefore, went forward, and ended on February 23rd. Judgment was delivered on November 21st, and the Bishop was justified on every point except the Sign of the Cross at the Absolution

¹ This phenomenon was curiously reproduced at the hearing of the case for Lights and Incense at Lambeth, May, 1899.

and Blessing. This result was an immense relief to Liddon, both as vindicating a decent ceremonial on grounds of historical continuity, and also as delivering a loved and honoured friend from undeserved distress. But, before the Judgment was given, the clouds were darkening for a more perilous storm.

CHAPTER VIII.

LUX MUNDI.

FROM first to last Liddon's opinions concerning the structure and interpretation of the Bible were sensitively and pugnaciously conservative ; and it is not unreasonable to surmise that they had been permanently affected by his Evangelical up-bringing.

In March, 1860, he pounced upon the newly-published *Essays and Reviews*, and pronounced that "between Jowett's and Wilson's essays, the Gospel history simply evaporates—as Jowett considers the three first Gospels to be merely three forms of one tradition, not 'three independent witnesses' to our LORD's sayings and acts ; and Wilson sees in S. John an element of legendary and ideal embellishment, which contrasts disadvantageously with the predominant moral element of the 'Synoptic Gospels.'" Two years later, the offender was Bishop Colenso, whose childish quibbles about the Ark and the Flood had "the direct result of promoting thorough-going disbelief of the truth and contents of Scripture." In 1868 Liddon wrote to a perplexed friend : "Your

difficulty appears to me to assume that a limitation of knowledge and a liability to error necessarily go together—that, because our LORD admits His ‘ignorance’ of the Day of Judgment, He is ignorant also of the authorship and claims of the Pentateuch, about which He does not profess ignorance, but, on the contrary, makes distinct assertions. Now, I should have thought that the reverse was the more natural inference. If a human teacher tells me that he is ignorant of A., but goes on confidently about B., I am led to trust his profession of knowledge in the case of B. all the more readily from his admission of ignorance in the case of A. . . . We have only one distinctly recorded instance of limitation of our LORD’s knowledge, and we have, as it seems to me, absolutely no ground for inferring ignorance in any other case, certainly not in cases where He spoke as believing Himself to know. . . .

“It seems important to observe that it is not merely the ‘authorship’ of the Pentateuch which our LORD’s quotations assume, and which is disputed by modern Rationalism. It is whether the Pentateuch contains legends instead of history. Our LORD, for instance, refers to the Noachian deluge, to Lot’s wife, and—to take another case—to Jonah’s being in the fish. It is admitted that He refers to these things as literal matters of fact. Modern Rationalism says that they are legends. If we

accept this conclusion, I do not see how we can trust our LORD when He says that He will come to judge the world. Why should He not have been mistaken here, too ; first in attributing to the prophecy of Daniel the force of a description which was to be literally fulfilled ; and, secondly, in claiming Himself to fulfil it ? In short, I do not believe that it is possible to draw a line between CHRIST'S 'doctrine concerning His FATHER and Himself,' and the other parts of His teaching. To suppose that our LORD is really ignorant of any one subject upon which He teaches as One Who believes Himself to know, appears to me to admit a solvent which must speedily break up all belief in His authority and teaching."

The last-quoted words anticipate, with almost literal accuracy, a protest which Liddon uttered twenty years later against hasty misbelief.¹ In all the interspace, his mind on these grave topics never varied. It would be easy, but is unnecessary, to multiply quotations. I proceed to the circumstances which involved him in the latest, perhaps the most important, and certainly the most painful, controversy of his life.

It will have been gathered from the foregoing pages, that one of the master-passions of Liddon's life was his devotion to Dr. Pusey. They had lived in close and increasing intimacy

¹ See *Life and Letters*, p. 361.

from the time when Liddon became a member of Christ Church. Pusey was Liddon's spiritual director, and, to the end of his long life, the elder was to the younger man "The Doctor,"—"ὁ μέγας," "the most dear and revered of friends, of whose friendship I have all along been so utterly unworthy." To Liddon's ardent nature, full of affection, loyalty, and hero-worship, there was an irresistible attraction in Pusey's austere unworldliness, indomitable courage, and persistent hopefulness, even in the darkest hours of treachery and persecution. As years went on, Pusey became to Liddon, not merely a final authority in all disputed points of criticism and theology, but a kind of exterior conscience in the practical problems of life and duty. "The Doctor would not approve of it," was on Liddon's lips a sentence of final condemnation. In the smallest question of academical polity, it was pain and grief to Liddon to find himself differing by a hair's breadth from the Doctor; while in all the vital controversies of a contentious time they were of one heart and one mind. Whether it was entirely wholesome for a man of Liddon's temperament to be thus under the sway of a master who taught us to regard bad butter as a means of grace, and to remember, when we went to bed, that we ought to be lying down in Hell, this is not the occasion to enquire. It is enough to record the fact that Pusey was

to Liddon, not only *dilectissimus amicus*, but a Prophet and a King, from whose judgments in the spiritual and moral domain there could be no appeal.

Pusey died in 1882, and it was inevitable that Liddon should be profoundly concerned about the best method of perpetuating his memory, and presenting his life and work to the world. We have seen that he undertook, to the great detriment of his own health and efficiency, the burdensome task of writing the Biography, and he was the leading spirit in the movement for creating some visible memorial of the part which Pusey had played in the reconstruction of the Church of England.

Liddon's first idea was that the memorial should be a church, exceeding magnifical, in some conspicuous part of London, where the combined beauty of architecture, ornament and ritual should teach through the eye that great Theology of the Incarnation and the Sacraments which the Tractarian leaders had taught through the ear. "A church like that," he said, "would have excited enthusiasm." However, in this prosaic world of ours, memorials depend on money, and rich men are seldom idealists. It therefore came to pass that Liddon's original scheme received no support from those opulent Churchmen to whose pockets he appealed. They, on their part, suggested some very uninspiring projects,

such as an enlargement of S. Stephen's House for training Missionaries, and a "Theological Appendix" to Keble College, where B.A.'s. might be taught Theology. Failing the Memorial Church, Liddon proposed a College of Clergy in Oxford, which should be a centre of religious faith, theological learning, and pastoral care for souls. This scheme, which would in Liddon's view act as an opposing force to the secular tendencies of the remodelled and dechristianized University, was adopted at a meeting held at Lord Salisbury's London house on the 16th November, 1882. At the same time it was resolved to purchase Dr. Pusey's library and place it in a suitable house, under the care of two or more clerical Librarians who should combine educational with spiritual work. The Pusey House was to be, in Liddon's words, "a home of sacred learning, and a rallying-point for Christian faith . . . at what, so far as we can judge, must always be one of the chief centres of the mental life of this country." It was to "exhibit, as the old Colleges of Oxford were meant by their Christian founders to exhibit, solid learning allied to Christian faith and piety."

Here was indeed a Venture of Faith. It was obvious that its success must depend in large measure on the character of the man who was placed in command of it. Liddon's choice fell on the Rev. Charles Gore, Vice-Principal of Cuddesdon Theological College; and the

selection was generally approved. Pusey House was opened by the Bishop of Oxford¹ on the 9th of October, 1884, and immediately entered on a course of vigorous and useful work. Much of that vigour and that usefulness was due to the first Head, afterwards Bishop of Birmingham.

Charles Gore was born in 1853, and educated at Harrow and Balliol. At Harrow he was marked by an early and consistent piety, and by a habit of close study, pursued outside, though never at the expense of, his regular work. When other clever boys were content to talk about books, he read them; but he was no mere student. In many ways he was a born teacher. It came naturally to him to think, to theorize, and to expound. He had views on most subjects, and was not shy about enunciating them. His thinking processes were in great measure shaped by Dr. Westcott, then an Assistant-Master at Harrow, who pleaded for the revival of Religious Communities in England, and at the same time sought to implant in his pupils "a firm faith in Criticism." Some traces of Westcott's influence were visible in Gore when he first went up to Balliol as a Scholar in 1871, and they were reinforced by the intellectual influences of the time and place. After taking his degree in the First Class of the Final Classical School, he fulfilled a long-cherished

¹ Dr. Mackarness.

purpose by seeking Holy Orders. He was elected to a Fellowship at Trinity College, and soon began to make a distinct mark on the life of the University. He had social advantages which differentiated him in some ways from other Dons. His Balliol Scholarship and First Class sufficiently attested his mental competence ; and no one who knew him could doubt that spiritual and moral interests held the first place in his heart. In 1878 he wrote a paper on the Nature of Faith and the conditions of its exercise, which was privately printed, and revealed him at once as a clear, bold, and yet cautious thinker. Being appointed Vice-Principal of Cuddesdon, he developed a power of attracting and interesting young men ; and the same power made both his public instructions and his private ministrations at the Pusey House acceptable to a wide circle of Undergraduates.

In boyish days, Gore had passed through a ritualistic phase ; but residence at Oxford had conformed his religion to a more academic type ; and it was common knowledge to his friends and pupils that he inclined towards some extremely modern methods of criticizing the Old Testament. But, curiously enough, no suspicion of this unconcealed fact seems ever to have crossed the mind of the man who put him at the Pusey House. Liddon "knew and loved his general character ; knew that he was sound about the Incarnation and the Sacra-

ments ; and did not suspect that he had constructed a private kennel for liberalizing ideas in Theology within the precincts of the Old Testament, and so much of the New Testament as bears upon it."

Now it happened that this was a subject on which Liddon's own convictions were fixed and immoveable. He held them even passionately, and the lapse of years brought no change in the manner of stating them. In 1861 he wrote—"The religious admiration of our day is very generally given to systems which still bid us study Scripture, while they evacuate its almost every claim to reverence ; and to men whom we are thankful to hear describing the dress of a patriarch or the historic parallels of a crisis, lest they should be insisting upon all the objections which can be urged against some primal Christian doctrine, or suggesting indirectly all the criticisms which tell against the genuineness and authenticity of some Canonical Book."

To a mind thus possessed, the arbitrary assumptions and bland self-confidence of the criticism quaintly called "Higher," were necessarily repulsive. Its prevalence in Oxford was a permanent distress to Liddon, but he took comfort in the thought that the Pusey House, which he had done so much to establish, and the Librarians whom he had placed there, were sedulously confirming Undergraduates in the Faith, and were battling,

with all their might, against the forces of the New Scepticism. To some extent this was true. Pusey House did good work in the regions of devotion, conscience, and morals; and crude theories about the text and interpretation of the Old Testament ran off the robust common-sense of sincerely Christian Undergraduates, like water off the back of the proverbial duck. But all at once the skies darkened for a drenching storm; and that storm, when it burst, destroyed for ever the peace and brightness of the devoted and beautiful life which this book attempts to pourtray.

On the 6th of July, 1889, Liddon wrote to a friend—"I should be happier about the future of good principles among us, if some of our friends did not coquette with rationalism, as put out by the destructive school of Professors Driver and Cheyne; and others, with such forms of worldliness as theatre-going—which, in a Priest, is surely unintelligible. Each of these symptoms characterized a large section of the French clergy in the generation which preceded the Revolution of 1789. Each is due partly, I suppose, to a mistaken notion that we can conquer worldly morals, or forms of thought that are unbelieving at bottom, by discreetly 'playing pretty' to them. I daresay I have made my full share of mistakes in this way, if I only knew: perhaps one sees the outline of the battlefield more clearly when one

is leaving it, though without having contributed to the success of the day."

In September of this year Liddon spent some time at Brighton, where it was the privilege of the present writer to be daily in his company. From Brighton he went to stay with Mrs. Meynell-Ingram at Hoar Cross, and there, in reply to a question of his hostess, he so strongly urged the merits of the Pusey House and its Head, that she subscribed £500 to its funds. At the beginning of the October Term he returned to Oxford, and soon learned, to his unspeakable dismay, that a book which was just coming out under the editorship of the Principal of the Pusey House contained an essay by the editor which would "make great concessions to the Germans." This book was of course the well-meant but ill-starred volume entitled *Lux Mundi*.

Matthew Arnold, in his famous Lectures on translating Homer, said that Mr. Ichabod Wright's translation had no proper reason for existing. If I could venture so far without appearing to verge on blasphemy, I should say the same of *Lux Mundi*. The contributors were men of high character and great attainments, among whom I count some loved and honoured friends; but why they published *Lux Mundi* is a question to which in sixteen years there has been no intelligible answer. The preface states that the volume was

primarily due to a set of circumstances which at the time of publication existed no longer. The writers had been Tutors at Oxford between 1875 and 1885, and had then been compelled to "attempt to put the Catholic Faith into its right relation to modern intellectual and moral problems." It might perhaps be suggested that to put intellectual and moral problems into their right relation to the Catholic Faith would be a more promising and a more dutiful attempt for a company of clergymen. The phrase was indeed explained away in the preface to the Tenth Edition; but it still stands in the forefront of the book, a monument of infelicitous expression.

Whatever necessities were laid upon these Tutors at Oxford between 1875 and 1885, one would have thought that they had been removed by lapse of time and change of duties. By Michaelmas, 1889, the men, "who once enjoyed this happy companionship, were for the most part separated." And yet they felt bound to gather up the residuum of their old teaching, which had filtered harmlessly enough through several generations of Undergraduates, and to precipitate it on the Church at large. The Undergraduates of 1875-1885 may have required instruction about Faith and Pain and Inspiration and Ethics and other venerable themes; but the Church, which had free access to the works of Pascal and Butler and Paley and Newman and Pusey and Church and

Liddon, was not conscious of any aching void which *Lux Mundi* could fill. I have lived most of my life in circles where religious enquiry and discussion abounded; but I have never yet encountered a human being whose doubts had been removed by *Lux Mundi*; and the fact that it ran through eleven editions in twelve months is, I imagine, due to the fact that, as Liddon said, "the world at large thinks it *piquant* that such a book should have issued from the Pusey House."

Myself an unworthy son of Oxford, I know the repulsiveness of the suggestion that we at Oxford have ever learnt anything from Cambridge, or that Cambridge has preceded us in any line of fruitful thought or action. Yet, when I read *Lux Mundi*, I cannot perceive that, with all its exuberance of rhetoric and verbiage and illustrative allusion, it carries us much further than the position taken by that least exciting of teachers, Dr. Vaughan,¹ as far back as 1862. Preaching in that year before the University of Cambridge, Vaughan admitted that "the Bible itself is the battle-ground of our generation." He warned his hearers not to ignore difficulties, but still to keep their heads amid the rattling storm of Criticism. He laid it down that it was no part of God's purpose in Revelation to anticipate the discoveries of science, to teach history in ad-

¹ C. J. Vaughan (1816-1897), Master of the Temple, and Dean of Llandaff.

vance, or to disclose truths which lay within the competence of man's intellect to discover for himself. Above all—and here he was on exactly the same ground as the more reverent writers in *Lux Mundi*—he taught that for the man who owned the true and proper Deity of the LORD JESUS CHRIST, and placed himself as a learner at the Divine Feet, the problems of criticism and speculation had neither fears nor perils.¹

However, for weal or woe, *Lux Mundi* was compiled, and rumour in Oxford was busy with its supposed contents. The Editor, hearing that Liddon was terribly perturbed, sent him the unpublished sheets. On October 20th, 1889, Liddon replied, "I have read through your Essay, but nothing else in the volume. It is needless to say that with the drift of the earlier part of the Essay I am in hearty agreement. There are passages which command my warmest admiration. You will, in your kindness, forgive me if I add how much I wish that pages 345-362, or large passages in them, could have been modified or abandoned."

Whoever cares to peruse the pages to which Liddon here refers must look at the first edition of *Lux Mundi*. In later editions, "two of the more painful passages that bore on the Person of our Divine LORD" were, as Liddon said, "altered for the better." But the Essay as it stood, and stands, says, with an

¹ See Appendix B.

air of superior information, that our LORD "argues with the Pharisees on the assumption of the Davidic authorship of Psalm cx.;" and in a footnote we read, "He never exhibits the omniscience of bare Godhead in the realm of natural knowledge; such as would be required to anticipate the results of modern science or criticism." Surely to introduce the tremendous and far-reaching doctrine of the "Self-emptying of God" in a casual footnote to a book of miscellaneous Essays suggests a levity which might well appal a mind so reverent and so scrupulous as Liddon's.

A long correspondence followed, and revealed an almost equal amount of misery in Liddon and his younger friend. To both, the divergence which was now made clear was a source of the deepest pain, and unluckily the Editor of *Lux Mundi* saw at the moment no practicable way of amending or suppressing his Essay. Liddon's judgment on some parts of the book was comparatively favourable. "Some of the Essays," he said, "or, at any rate, one of them—F. Paget's—is a real contribution to Christian theology." But, "the whole volume, as I read it, has a naturalistic and Pelagianizing tone; the writers seem to think it a gain when they can prune away or economize the Supernatural, and the great and awful doctrines of grace, which are the very heart of Christianity." Such was his general criticism; but his special dismay was evoked by the Essay on Inspiration,

and this dismay was deepened by a multitude of concurrent circumstances. On November 17th, 1889, he wrote to a friend : " Dr. ——'s death has saddened me, because, having had from Almighty God an unusually fine intellect, he has not made a use of it which can give him much satisfaction *now*. He has, in fact, helped to pull down Belief in Oxford, and his influence was steadily on the negative side of theology. This, of course, makes him an object of admiration to the whole of the Latitudinarian and non-believing world here, and at his funeral on Friday, I am told there was a regular "menagerie," including the Principal and Professors of the new Socinian College, as well as—I am sorry to say—Gore and Paget, and everything between. I should be glad to do anything I could for ——'s widow and children, but I have no mind for insincere homage paid to intellectual ability *minus* faith. Nothing, in fact, depresses me so much as the fear that our own friends here are unconsciously adopting Broad Church principles. There are more symptoms of this than I like to think of."

So the sad weeks went by—the saddest, probably, of Liddon's life—and at the end of November *Lux Mundi* was published. On the 24th Liddon wrote thus to Mrs. Meynell-Ingram :—

"When I was spending those delightful weeks with you in September, you asked me more than once whether I had entire con-

fidence in all the teaching of my dear friend Mr. Gore of the Pusey House. I told you, and with entire good faith at the time, that I had ; but he appeared to me to have kept clear of the forms of thought and opinion which characterized others whom I named. And, on the strength of what I said, you made your most generous gift to the Pusey House of £500. Since then, to my great sorrow, I have found that I spoke too confidently. A book is on the point of coming out, called *Lux Mundi*, at pp. 351-362 of which is a passage that appears to me to be inconsistent with serious belief in the trustworthiness of Holy Scripture, for various reasons on which I must not now dwell. But it has been a greater matter of regret to me than I can well put into words, that so excellent and able a man as Mr. Gore is should have written it ; and I feel that I owe you a reparation—so far as a reparation is possible—by saying at once that, had I thought it were remotely probable that anything of the kind would have proceeded from such a quarter, I could not have spoken to you as confidently as I did. I have, of course, told Mr. Gore frankly what I think about it—he was so good as to let me see the sheets. But I could not expect that this would influence him practically ; and, indeed, the book was too near publication, and the matter it contained too notorious in various quarters within the University, to admit of modification or suppression. I hope that, if

attention should be drawn to it, Mr. Gore will write something that will tend to reassure people, by modifying more or less considerably some of the statements and opinions expressed in the Essay. But some of the harm can never be undone. If our *spoken* words 'last for ever' in their effects, how much more is this true of our *printed* words! I cannot but feel that, considering the assurances on the strength of which you made your generous present, the Pusey House has now no right to it, or at best a very imperfect one. And, as through my want of knowledge and insight into what was going on, I was the person who misled you, it would be a relief and satisfaction to me to be allowed to replace the money in your hands."

This characteristically generous offer was as generously declined; and on November 30th, Liddon wrote again to Mrs. Meynell-Ingram:

"I must lose no time in thanking you for your very kind letter, and for your generosity in treating what I felt to be a moral obligation as you do. Mr. Gore is so able and so lovable a man that any deflection on his part from the lines of Revealed and Catholic Teaching is nothing short of a personal calamity. I hope that he will see his way to making some public explanation of his language, which will reassure his friends; though, as I read his Essay, I fear he will find it difficult to do this without retracting—if he can retract—some paragraphs.

That the Pusey House will, in any case, continue to have God's blessing upon it, I hope and believe, if it is not saying too much. One may almost apply to it that Apostolic saying, 'The gifts and calling of God are without repentance.'"

As the winter advanced, this painful controversy took stronger hold of Liddon's soul. On December 6th he wrote :

"We must all wish to make the best, and not the worst, of a misfortune. I do think it a serious misfortune, in itself, and for the sake of the Pusey House. Theology is not a matter of characters holy or attractive, or the reverse. It is a matter of propositions which are either true or false. And I cannot harmonize Gore's theory of our LORD'S *ad hominem* arguments with any such belief in the perfection of His Human Soul as Catholic theology prescribes."

On December 8th, he uttered his inmost thoughts in a splendid sermon at S. Paul's, which he published under the title of "The Worth of the Old Testament." With regard to that sermon Mr. Gladstone wrote that the passage describing the unique position of the Bible "rises to the very highest level of British eloquence, and exhausts all the resources of our language. It is too long to quote, too special to appropriate ; and to make extracts would only mangle it."

On Christmas Eve, 1889, Liddon wrote to Archdeacon Denison—"I have tried to tell

Gore as explicitly as I can how wrong I think his language, and how gravely the *assumed* ignorance of our Blessed LORD's Human Soul on the subject of the Old Testament bears on the true doctrine of His Person. As in the case of Theodore of Mopsuestia, it is the high-road to Nestorianism."¹

Liddon's last year on earth dawned in utter sadness. "I find myself," he wrote, "more isolated in Oxford than ever before in the whole course of my life." On the 19th of February, 1890, he wrote: "Dear Gore is deeply committed to a large number of young men who regard him as the clever inventor of a working compromise between Catholic truth and negative criticism, and who would be much grieved at his relapse into *consistent* orthodoxy." The more deeply he looked into the matters at issue, the more strongly he was convinced that there was "nothing short of absolute contradiction between Gore and Pusey." He urged that "those who hold our LORD to be in error when He teaches us what to think about the Old Testament ought to furnish a criterion of His infallibility, if they believe Him to be ever infallible. On what religious subjects is He infallible, if not on all? When did He begin to be, if He was not always, infallible?" He sorrowfully admitted that "both friends and foes have a right to say that I ought to have known better than I did what I was about when

¹ See Appendix C.

I recommended Gore for the first post in the Pusey Library." And again, a little later, he wrote : "*Lux Mundi* is a proclamation of revolt against the spirit and principles of Dr. Pusey and Mr. Keble."

The sad controversy was soon transferred from private correspondence to the columns of the religious press, and the debates of Ecclesiastical Societies and Congresses. Eventually, it ebbed away, as such controversies generally ebb, in a more or less unsatisfactory series of replies and rejoinders, dissertations and explanations. But, as far as Liddon himself was concerned, the mischief was already done. He had been wounded in a vital place, and wounded in the house of his friends.

CHAPTER IX.

THE LAST CHARGE—THE END.

ONE, and only one, ray of cheerfulness emerges from the gloom of this heart-breaking time. In the spring of 1890 Mr. Gladstone was staying in Oxford, and Liddon writes—"I had long conversations with him about the Old Testament; Dr. Döllinger; and the old Tractarians. Not a word about Ireland. He dined with me in Hall; delighted the Common Room by his conversation; and then came up to my rooms for a long talk afterwards. I am bound to add that he also dined at 'Mansfield:' though I think he would have made its enterprising Principal understand that the basis of their sympathy was political, and not theological. The world at large, however, would not understand this."

This was only a transient gleam of the ironic humour which in time past had cheered some very dark hours. The months went by, and the sorrow rather increased than diminished. In the midst of it, Liddon received from Lord

Salisbury the offer, even vehemently urged, of the See of S. Alban's. The offer was gravely considered, but firmly declined : and, among Liddon's reasons for declining it, as stated in writing by himself, were his age, his uncertain health, and the alienation of the younger High Churchmen from him on account of *Lux Mundi*. To an intimate friend he added yet another—that the incapacity to judge of men which he had shown when he chose Mr. Gore for the Headship of the Pusey House proved that he was unfit for any office involving the bestowal of appointments and preferments.

And now, although none knew it, Liddon's long day of warfare in the Church's cause was drawing to a close ; but, before he laid down the weapons which he had wielded so long and so courageously, he was to strike yet one more blow for the imperilled Faith. Earlier in the year, in a letter to a friend who shared his deepest confidence, he had said with regard to the new theology of Oxford : "The best view that we can take of it is that, like an eruptive disease, it was latent in the system of the modern Churchman, and is less dangerous now that it has 'come out' and can be observed and dealt with. May God give us grace to do this wisely and unselfishly." The opportunity came on Whitsunday, May 25th, 1890, when he preached, by the Vice-Chancellor's appointment, before the University. S. Mary's

Church was full to overflowing, and an even painfully intense interest possessed the great congregation. Every one knew, by a kind of instinct, that Oxford was now to hear from the lips of her greatest preacher his final testimony against the doctrine which, in his belief, was undoing the best work of his consecrated and laborious life. The text was the fourteenth verse of S. John xvi. : "He shall glorify Me : for He shall receive of Mine, and shall show it unto you." The sermon (published as *The Inspiration of Selection*) expounded the work of GOD the HOLY GHOST in the compilation of the Bible, and the testimony borne by Him in the New Testament to the truth and authority of the Old. "In some passages," says Liddon's biographer, "the sermon directly traversed statements in *Lux Mundi*, though the book itself was never mentioned." These were the closing paragraphs.

"Our LORD's words furnish us with a decisive criterion of the exact worth of dominant influences around us, of currents of thought which, now and again, would sweep us imperiously along with them ; of the temper of our own time ; of the *Zeitgeist*. It is natural to us to think that the days in which we live are wiser and better than any before, and that in throwing our thoughts without restraint into the main currents of the hour we are doing the best we can with our short span of life. And yet we might observe

that many a past generation has cherished this notion of an absolute value attaching to the thought and temper of its day, while we, as we look back on it, with the aid of a larger experience, can see that it was the victim of an illusory enthusiasm. When we analyse the ingredients that go to make up the spirit of the time, of any one phase of time ; and when we observe that, notwithstanding its stout assertions of a right to rule, it melts away before our very eyes like the fashions of a lady's dress, into shapes and moods which contradict, with equal self-confidence, its former self, we may hesitate before we listen to it as if it were a prophet, or make a fetish of it, as though it had within it some concealed divinity. The spirit of any generation may have, nay it must have in it some elements to recommend it. But assuredly it also has other and very different elements ; and the question is whence do they come, and whither are they drifting ? All that is moving, interesting, exciting in the world of ideas, in the successive conceptions of the meaning and purpose of life that flit across the mental sky, is not necessarily from, nor does it necessarily tend towards, the Source of good. The mere movement of the ages does not in itself imply a progress from lower to higher truth, from darkness to light ; movement is possible in more directions than one. ' Brethren,' exclaims an Apostle to some of his flock, to whom every claimant for speculative

sympathy seems to have been welcome, 'brethren, believe not every spirit; but try the spirits whether they are of God. . . . Every spirit that confesseth that JESUS CHRIST is come in the flesh is of GOD; and every spirit that confesseth not that JESUS CHRIST is come in the flesh is not of God.'

"The test of the true worth of the spirit of our day—of the spirit which rules our own thoughts and lives—is the saying, 'He shall glorify Me.' All that wins for the Divine Redeemer more room in the thoughts and hearts of men; all that secures for Him the homage of obedient and disciplined wills; all that draws from the teachings of the past and the examples of the present new motives for doing Him the honour which is His eternal due, may be safely presumed to come from a Source higher than any in this passing world, and to have in it the promise of lasting happiness and peace. And, for the rest—

'Sunt multa fæcis illita
Quæ luce purgentur Tuâ,
Tu vera Lux coelestium
Vultu sereno illumina.' "

The University of Cambridge, impressed perhaps by the sermon¹ on "Devotion to

¹ After preaching that sermon, Liddon wrote on the 28th of October, 1888: "Cambridge strikes me as being more conservative as to religious matters than Oxford. The young men still wear their academical dress, and they are more reverent in chapel. I felt sure to-day that a great deal might be done with them."

the Church of CHRIST" which Liddon had preached there two years before, now conferred on him the Honorary Degree of LL.D., which he publicly received on June 10th. From Cambridge he returned to his rooms in Christ Church, and there addressed himself to his last piece of theological work. In the previous April he had written to a friend with reference to Dr. Martineau's recent book, *The Seat of Authority in Religion*: "I have been reading more of Dr. Martineau. It is the most powerful attack on Christianity that I have come across for many years. Its significance is that it is merely the extension of methods which get rid of unwelcome features in the Christian Faith, without destroying, or professing to destroy, what is 'essential.'"

It is not difficult to conjecture what was at the bottom of Liddon's mind when he wrote those words. All his life long he had devoted his best powers of heart and brain to the task of defending the true and proper Deity of the LORD JESUS CHRIST, and he looked with the most profound abhorrence on all theories which suggested that it was possible for the LORD to err. He wrote a short criticism of Dr. Martineau's book, and published it as the preface to the Fourteenth Edition of his Bampton Lectures. It ends with these words: "The sincere and able writer before us unintentionally illustrates the real connexion

between the New Testament and the doctrine of our LORD's Divinity, when, in order to get rid of the approaches to, as well as the statements of, that doctrine, he finds himself obliged to tear the writings of the Evangelist to shreds. He then teaches us that, if we would read the Gospels as they stand and with our eyes open, we cannot but read in their pages the truth which was reasserted for all time by the Catholic Church at Nicæa, because it was inextricably bound up with the first and only trustworthy record of Him Who is the Object as well as the Author of our Faith."

This preface is dated "Christ Church, S. Peter's Day, 1890." It was Liddon's last contribution to the service of the cause which had absorbed his life. And now, like an earlier apostle of the unchanging Faith, he was ready to be offered, and the time of his departure was at hand. He had never been a very strong man. His nervous system was highly strung, and he felt pain, as he felt pleasure, with peculiar keenness. He used to say, "I am a living barometer," and during the last five years some rheumatic and neuralgic troubles, which had long beset him, increased in frequency and force. On the 1st of March, 1890, he wrote to a friend—"I have not been well, and have fallen into the hands of Dr. Ogle, to whom I am now in subjection."

His look of pain and illness attracted general notice when he was receiving his LL.D. at Cambridge ; and he suffered acutely after he got back to Oxford. On the 3rd of July he attended the funeral of his staunch friend Lord Carnarvon, at Highclere, near Newbury, but only made the journey with the utmost difficulty. He returned to Christ Church after the funeral, and that evening spent some time in the rooms of his friend, the Rev. E. F. Sampson, where he met Dr. Bright and Scott Holland. "He was very tired and unwell, but most delightful and most brilliant."

He now took to his bed, suffering torture from what appeared to be neuralgia at the base of the skull and in the neck. He was attended with the most tender care by Sir Henry Acland, and his younger sister, Mrs. Ambrose, came to nurse him. For a fortnight he suffered "agony," and "unspeakable distress." He "went through the fire." He had "never known before what pain might be." He "felt that the pain might crush life out of him by sheer violence." As the urgency of the symptoms abated, it was judged expedient to remove him from his rooms in Christ Church, which were gloomy and inconvenient, to the house of his elder sister, Mrs. Poole King, at Stonehouse, Gloucestershire. The move was made on the 19th of July, 1890, Mrs. Ambrose, Sir Henry Acland, a nurse, and a man-servant accompanying him. Of the sequel

I am allowed to give the following account, abridged from a longer narrative by one of his kinsfolk :—

When he arrived at the station, his face was of a ghastly colour, and he was carried, apparently unconscious of his surroundings, from the invalid carriage to his sister's brougham. What made him doubly difficult to move was that he had also a severe attack of gout in his foot ; but of this he never complained. He once said that it was "of no more importance than a burning out-house when the citadel was in flames." He revived a good deal after his arrival, and seemed to enjoy his new surroundings, and the fine view over the Severn Valley and the Forest of Dean. For the first week he seemed to improve ; his complexion grew brighter, and he could relish his food. He was carried daily from his bedroom to a sitting-room next door ; and on the 29th of July, by the direction of his brother Dr. Edward Liddon,¹ he was taken into the garden in a chair. Unluckily, the movement brought on great pain, and the experiment had soon to be discontinued. On the 31st he was suddenly seized by an attack of agony so overmastering that he could not, for several hours, be moved out of the chair into which he had sunk. It was noticed, however, that the pain made very little difference to the pulse or temperature. On the 3rd of August he was

¹ M.D. ; of Taunton.

again carried into the garden, and during a week of very fine weather was able to spend a good many hours there. At this time, he complained little of pain, and was able to read a good deal. He wrote his diary with his accustomed care, noting his symptoms from day to day; and insisted, in defiance of doctors, on superintending his correspondence. One of his dearest friends was Lord Halifax, whose domestic joys and sorrows were as real to him as his own. Lord Halifax's eldest son,¹ an Undergraduate at Christ Church, was seriously out of health; and it was now suggested that, as soon as the two patients were fit to travel, they should accompany Lord and Lady Halifax on a journey to Egypt. Liddon's reply to this suggestion is the last of his letters which has come into the present writer's hands. The handwriting shows painful signs of weakness.

“Aug. 6. (*Trans. D.N.J.C.*) 1890.

“MY DEAREST FRIEND,—

“I can only write a line (in defiance of the doctor) to thank you for your most delightful letter. But I must do that. Last week I had a relapse; but am again, by God's mercy, improving. The plan at which you hint would be delightful. I dare not, however, as matters stand, make *any* plans. ‘One step enough for

¹ Charles Reginald Lindley Wood (1870–1890).

me.' At best, my recovery must be a very slow matter—so it seems.

"I have read Mr. Lilly's *Right and Wrong*. It is a well-written re-statement of old Intuitional Morality, which they used to teach at Oxford before the rise of J. S. Mill. His quotation from Coleridge I recollect learning by heart before I went into the Schools. Certainly it is a book calculated in these days to do a great deal of good. I *can* write no more. How heartily I agree with you about dear Lord B.¹ He is the truest of friends. May God of his mercy enable Charlie to regain strength !

"Yours most affectionately,

"H. P. LIDDON."

The week during which the letter was written was the brightest period of the illness ; but changes were at hand. By the 10th of August, the gout in his foot had so far abated as to allow of his walking in the garden, but, though in this and in other ways he seemed to be improving, he became increasingly depressed, and seemed to lose all heart and hope. "From the time that the gout left his feet, and he was able to move about, his depression became much greater, and he felt 'ill' in himself." On the 12th of August he was almost unnaturally affected by the death of Cardinal Newman, and "found it

¹ Frederick, Earl Beauchamp (1830-1891).

impossible to think of anything else throughout the day." In his weakened state, every blow fell with tenfold weight. He was "better by all the rules by which doctors and nurses measure improvement," but one to whom he always gave his confidence knows where the deepest mischief lay. "He had lost all heart about the Church, and he was so miserable at the assaults on the Faith that he no longer cared to live." Against moral despair of that type no medical service can avail.

Throughout the illness, Liddon showed a strong and strange reluctance to see old friends. "He did not feel sure of his self-control, and, the fonder he was of them, the greater the effort appeared to be." To this rule, however, an exception occurred in the case of the Rev. Albert Barff,¹ who came, by invitation, to Standish House on the 1st of September. Down to this time, Liddon, though scrupulously exact about his prayers and Daily Offices, had not felt sure enough of himself to make arrangements for a Celebration. "He always feared that he might not be able to control his thoughts, if suddenly attacked by the pain." But, with his friend staying in the house, he seemed to gain greater confidence; and, at his request, Mr. Barff gave him the Holy Communion in the early morning of the 3rd of September, his

¹ Vicar of S. Giles', Cripplegate.

own servant being present, and the rest of the household still asleep.

Mr. Barff writes—"I was alone with him for some time during the latter part of the day. He talked freely and brightly of old times, and of plans for the immediate future. He seemed to be so well that I said, 'You are much better this evening.' 'Yes,' he said, 'I have often noticed that the Blessed Sacrament helps the body as well as the soul.' This was his last Communion."

By this time, the doctors began to advise that the patient should be removed from Gloucestershire to the more bracing air of Weston-Super-Mare. Before Liddon left his sister's house, he insisted on saying good-bye to each of the servants. To one he said that he should never see her again, and to some hopeful words of hers he replied, "I am quite happy. I could not be in better hands, and all is being done for the best." His courtesy to servants, and gratitude for their good offices, were strongly-marked features of his character; and it is only just to master and man to insert these words from one of the family: "He was quite devoted to Frank Mawler, and liked him to do everything for him. Frank was the best of nurses, and the most unselfish and devoted servant."

The move was safely made on the 5th of September; though the drive from the station at Weston to Claremont Crescent caused acute

pain. Liddon had always revelled in "the great and wide sea," and seemed to enjoy the view across the bay. Next day, a new doctor overhauled him thoroughly, and, like all who had done the same, could find nothing wrong in his vital organs; but the doctor was mystified, and was very strongly impressed by a degree of illness for which he could not account. That day Liddon went out in a bath-chair, took a turn with his servant, and in the evening walked up to his nieces' sitting-room, and talked quite cheerfully about books and coins (a favourite hobby). Next day, Sunday, 7th, was very hot, and though he was able to get out in his chair, he seemed unusually weak.

On Monday morning the fatal blow fell. The first post brought a letter from Lord Halifax saying that his son, for whose benefit the journey to Egypt had been projected, had died suddenly. Liddon was overwhelmed. He dictated a letter of passionate sympathy, but was so weak that he could hardly sign his name. Throughout the day he kept about as usual; but in the evening, after sitting in the garden, he had an alarming fit of nervous exhaustion. "Without losing consciousness, he seemed to lose all muscular power," and so remained for about half an hour, when the power to move himself suddenly returned. That evening he spoke plainly of impending death, but the doctor still reported a stronger

and steadier pulse. He went to bed soon after 11, and had a quiet night but not much sleep. Next morning, Tuesday, September 9, his servant got him out of bed about 9 o'clock ; when an attack similar to that of the previous evening came on, and he suddenly became helpless. The writer of the narrative from which I have been quoting thus describes the rest—"I went in, and found him sitting up, not faint or unconscious, but apparently unable to move. I begged him to let us help him back into bed, but he shook his head and seemed unable to speak. I called my sister to stay with him, and ran off for the doctor, who only lived about five minutes off. Somehow, I was not frightened, for I had often seen him very like this, and he had generally come round suddenly. I noticed though, this time, that his eyes were unusually large and bright and expressive : they had struck me so too on Monday. I found the doctor in, and he came at once. We reached Claremont Crescent together. He went straight into my uncle's room, and, as he went in, my sister came out. I asked her how Uncle Harry was. She said that he had gradually become easier, and she had sent the servant away ; and that he soon fell asleep. At first, his breathing had been very laboured, but now he was sleeping so quietly that she could hardly hear him. She went on to say that his sleep was like death, but she remembered to have seen him look like it in the night, and

was not really alarmed. In a few minutes the doctor came to us, and told us that it was all over before he arrived. The face had not a trace of suffering on it. I never saw anything more beautiful than his expression—a certain sweet but rather severe look which he had sometimes, reminding me somewhat of what he had been as a young man.”

And so the life-long conflict ended in the Eternal Peace. *Euge, serve bone et fidelis : intra in gaudium Domini tui.*

Liddon had made his will in 1885, before starting on his pilgrimage to the Holy Land. “First, I commit my soul into the hands of Almighty God, trusting to obtain His mercy only through the merits of JESUS CHRIST, and firmly believing the Christian Faith as held by the whole Catholic Church before the Division of East and West, and by the Church of England. Next, I desire, in case I should die in England, to be buried in the crypt of S. Paul’s Cathedral, if it may conveniently be arranged.”

On the Thursday after his death, his body was brought to London, and laid in his study at 3, Amen Court. On the following Monday it was carried by night to the north-west chapel of S. Paul’s Cathedral. There on Tuesday morning, the 16th of September, the Holy Communion was celebrated twice ; at seven by Mr. Gregory, and at eight by Mr. Scott

Holland. At twelve the Burial Service began, in the midst of a vast and deeply-moved concourse of friends and followers. Ten Bishops were present, but the Archbishop of the Province and the Bishop of the Diocese were not among the number. The sentence of committal was read by Dean Church, who never again officiated, and died in the following December. The service closed with Liddon's favourite hymn, "When morning gilds the skies."

CHAPTER X.

THEOLOGY—RITUAL—ESTABLISHMENT.

Now that the historical part of my task is finished, I must attempt some estimate of the Man whose career I have endeavoured to narrate—of his character, attributes, opinions, and accomplishments. From this part of my task I shrink with a humbling sense of my complete unworthiness to discuss a Genius and a Saint, who was the master of all my religious thinking during the most impressible period of human life. But the attempt must be made, and the disciple may auspicate it with a prayer which was often on the master's lips—*Deus in adjutorium.*

And first of Liddon as Theologian. Here it is to be borne in mind that, unlike Keble and Pusey and Moberly, Liddon was not born into the Anglican tradition. Like his own master, Bishop Hamilton, he was born and bred an Evangelical. There is no foundation on which the superstructure of Catholic faith can be more securely built than on the Evangelical confession of man's utter sinfulness and of the free pardon purchased by the Blood of CHRIST. A man trained in that confession

may, without sacrificing a jot of his earlier creed, learn to accept all that the Catholic Church teaches about Orders and Sacraments ; but to the end he retains some characteristic marks of his spiritual beginnings. Among these are commonly found an awful sense of the sinfulness of sin and the reality of hell ; an ever-present anxiety that no human being and no created thing shall interpose itself between the soul and the Creator ; and a personal devotion to the LORD JESUS CHRIST which embraces (if the phrase may be reverently written) with equal love and loyalty the Divine and Human Natures in the one Adorable Person. These marks of his Evangelical upbringing stamped Liddon's theology from the beginning to the end. It may be profitable to trace some of the many forms and connexions in which they manifested themselves.

i. To resort to Liddon in Sacramental Confession was to realize, perhaps more vividly than the penitent had ever realized it before, what Sin means to a saint, and, therefore in some faint and broken way, what it means to the All-holy God. As the tale of wrong-doing was unfolded, Liddon seemed to shrink, as from the sight of the Evil One who had been at work. He seemed to perceive not merely the power, but the very presence, of Satan. On his lips the Word of Absolution sounded like an exorcism. But, with all this horror of the sin, there was conjoined the tenderest kind-

ness to the sinner ; the most loving sympathy with human frailty ; and the most inspiriting confidence in the Blood-bought Pardon. So, too, every sermon which he ever preached is, in its central spirit, a warning to flee from the Wrath to come ; and the awfulness of that Wrath is driven home to the shrinking conscience by the reiterated assurance that the punishment of the Impenitent lasts for ever.

ii. No one was more urgent than Liddon on the absolute necessity of personal relations between the soul and God. Even in dealing with the Sacraments and the Creeds, he taught us to seek for the Living LORD "beneath the forms and the words which shroud Him while they speak of Him." In the fundamental part of religion, the man must be *solus cum Solo*. The LORD alone could wash away sin ; the LORD alone could impart the New Life ; the LORD alone could fortify against temptation and conquer death. And so again with regard to the forms of worship ; "it is of the last importance that we should recognize the danger of substituting a devotion to the externals of religion for a supreme anxiety about the state and prospects of the soul—its freedom from the empire of sin, its actual reconciliation to God, its supernatural life, its cheerfulness and peace, its readiness for death."

iii. Liddon's whole life was a systematic and continuous devotion, loyal, loving, and enthusiastic, to the Adorable Person of the

LORD That bought him. For him all thought, as well as all life, was "the worship of a living, ever-present, and immaculate Redeemer."¹ This is a fact on which, with his correspondence and his books before us, it is needless to insist. Not to realize it would simply mean that one had never realized Liddon. Even the Bishop of Oxford,² who so strangely misconceives some parts of his friend's beautiful character, is clear on this. "He seemed as one who was often thinking of the Gaze of CHRIST lighting on him, the Hand of CHRIST pointing to some act of service, the Voice of CHRIST prompting some witness to the Faith. There was a memorable tone that came into his words when, in preaching or in argument or in conversation, he spoke of that which he condemned as slighting or disloyal to CHRIST. It was, quite simply, like the way in which a man fires up when anyone has, even unawares, spoken rudely or contemptuously of his friend; and there are parts of his writings in which, for those at least who knew him, that same tone still sounds. It was but one sign of a real habit of thinking constantly of his Master; of a very attentive listening for His command; of an earnest, anxious desire to go straight forward in His cause, to live and die as His."

On the Evangelical foundation (of which the three just enumerated were conspicuous

¹ In this connexion, see Note G in the Bampton Lectures.

² Dr. Paget.

marks) Liddon builds the great superstructure of Catholic faith, practice, and worship. Very early in life he was led to perceive the magnificent ideal of a "Holy Church Universal," world-wide in extension and visibly united, and he never could bring himself to understand how Christians who seriously believed that our LORD uttered the words recorded in S. John xvii., could acquiesce without a sigh or a struggle in the present dislocation of Christendom. The Unity of the Church was a consummation for which Christians should hope and pray and labour; but the idea gave, in Liddon's mind, no countenance to the Papal claim. He disbelieved in the Infallibility; he rejected the Supremacy. He saw in the Holy Orthodox Churches of the East an age-long contradiction of the Roman theory; and he believed that the Church of England, possessing Apostolic Orders, holding Catholic Creeds, and administering valid Sacraments, offered all that was necessary for the edification and salvation of her children. Even in the darkest hours of storm and stress, when it seemed as if the Church of England might repudiate one of the Creeds of Christendom, it was not to Rome that Liddon looked for a refuge. "I cannot," he wrote in 1872, "become a Roman, because I entirely disbelieve the Pope's Infallibility, and other things too.¹ And, like you, I have seriously

¹ Lord Acton wrote of him in 1884: "He has tried and has rejected the Cause of Rome."

thought of the Old Catholic Movement. If I am stranded . . . I shall go to Munich, I think, and do any work for Döllinger that I can, and get such knowledge as may be useful for us hereafter in England."

The dreaded possibility was graciously averted, and Liddon lived his life of devout activity within the precincts of the Church of England; leaning, of course, towards the higher forms of the Anglican tradition. He duly revered the unique blessedness and Perpetual Virginity of Mary, Mother of God. He boldly claimed and diligently used the Power of the Keys in Absolution. He prayed for the Faithful Departed that they might "rest in peace and light, beneath the Throne of our gracious LORD." As to the Holy Eucharist, he felt that "we have nothing to gain by exchanging our simple faith in the Real Presence for a philosophical speculation about it that is weighted with the difficulties of centuries." He taught that "no Liturgy in the world, at this hour, embodies the Sacramental principle, as stated by the great Augustine, more fully than does the Communion Service of the Church of England." He insisted that "the Body and Blood of the LORD lie before the Priest on the altar," and that "the Presence itself, inseparable from the duly-consecrated Sacrament, is to be carefully distinguished from the spiritual benefit which it conveys to the soul of a faithful recipient." As

regards the Eucharistic Sacrifice, he taught that "the Eucharist is a presentation of the ever-living and present CHRIST, once for all Sacrificed, to the Eternal FATHER, as being the all-prevailing Mediator, through union with Whom alone we can hope for mercy and acceptance."¹

As regards the externals of religion, Liddon loved a beautiful and dignified ceremonial, and more especially he loved it when it was so ordered as to direct devout attention to the supreme Mystery which is transacted at the altar. He revelled in the riches and splendours of Divine worship, as he saw them either on the continent of Europe or in the Sacred East. As early as 1861 he deplored the loss of those "accessories, which lend such majesty and attractiveness to the worship of some other branches of the Church." Ten years later he bore an eager and a loving part in the restoration of Eucharistic Worship at S. Paul's, and (unlike Dean Church, who had never seen a vestment except Bishop Jackson's subfusc cope²) he was constantly a worshipper, and often the Celebrant, at altars where the full Eucharistic Vesture was a matter of course.

In all departments of faith and practice, Liddon, like other people, had his own predilections ; but he brought everything to the test of

¹ For a fuller statement of Eucharistic doctrine as held by Liddon, see Appendix A.

² See *Dean Church* in this series, p. 104.

the Church of England ; what she taught, he believed ; what she prescribed, he practised ; what she forbade, he eschewed. He mistrusted all such vague phrases as "the whole spirit of our liturgy" and "the living voice of the Church." He made his constant appeal to the written word of the Prayer Book as the authoritative guide of English Church-people, both in faith and worship. When a Roman controversialist¹ accused the Catholic party in general and Liddon among them of disseminating Roman doctrines, Liddon promptly repudiated the "little collection of inexact or exaggerated phrases" which his opponent had compiled from ritualistic manuals of devotion.² He was full of charity for those whose eyes were so holden by inveterate prejudice that they failed to see the plain meaning of Anglican formularies ; but he made no terms with the modern delusion that to affirm and to deny the same proposition is only to look at truth from both sides. In 1883 he wrote—"In their anxiety to be paradoxically sympathetic, our friends forget what is due to the sacred claims of Revealed Truth." In 1885 he wrote—"The doctrine of the "Three Schools" in the Church of England, all interesting and admirable, is hard to reconcile with the nature and obligations of a Revelation from God. It

¹ T. J. Capel.

² For this controversy, see the *Times* for December, 1874, and January, 1875, *passim*.

cannot be equally agreeable to Him to say that Baptismal Regeneration, for instance, is a truth which He has revealed, and that it is a falsehood which obscures the true sense of His Revelation. The attempts to combine contradictories as "two sides of truth," only result in injuring the sense of truth in those who make them."

The Bishop of Oxford, who excels in the part of Candid Friend, says that Liddon, though generous and warm-hearted, was "not wholly just to those from whom he differed."¹ It is pleasant to set against this sentence the repeated instances in which, as Principal Johnston's book makes manifest, he "differed" profoundly from his contemporaries, and yet was not only "just" to them, but generously and affectionately kind. He "differed" from Bishop Wilberforce about the mode of the Eucharistic Presence—and suffered for the difference—but, when the Bishop died, he wrote: "Since my father's death, I have had no such personal sorrow." He "differed" from Dean Stanley on almost every point in controverted theology, but strained charity almost to bursting-point in belauding his attractiveness, unselfishness, and sincerity. He "differed" from the present Bishop of Birmingham about the inspiration of the Old Testament and the limitations of our LORD'S Human Knowledge; but even in the act

¹ *Life and Letters*, chapter xiv.

of criticizing him he said, "It is most unwelcome to me to write thus, for I love Gore dearly." He "differed" from Cardinal Newman and Mr. Redington¹ on the Papal Supremacy, but revered and loved the one, and numbered the other among his closest friends. He "differed" from Dr. R. W. Dale about the structure of the Christian Church, but was touchingly grateful for his "kindness," and humbly asked his prayers. He "differed" from Professor Max Müller about the Origin of Religion, but wrote to him in terms of an almost reverent admiration. He "differed" from Darwin on the nature and obligation of Revealed Religion, but felt that "we owe him much for his courageous adherence to Theistic truth." He "differed" from George Eliot about as widely as one human being can differ from another; yet this was his comment on her *Life*: "It is very heartrending reading. Such an abuse of so much genius! The easy way in which she throws off her Christianity, as if it were an old bonnet—without any trace of moral or intellectual anguish—is terrible. . . . And yet there is something which makes one read the book with a pity that outweighs all other feelings whatever. Beneath all that is most revolting I seem to hear an undertone of deep sorrow, which neither her unbelief, nor her relation to Mr.

¹ The Right Hon. C. T. Redington, (1847-1899), Irish land-owner and Educationist.

Lewes, could silence, and which makes one think what she might have been, had she not been what she was."

One who knew Liddon before the Bishop of Oxford was born writes as follows—"His deep interest in all forms of religion led him to friendships with men of varied creeds—Jewish Rabbis, English Dissenters, Roman and Greek Churchmen. The study of the old religions, as leading up to Christianity, interested him intensely; as did the Intellectual Unbeliever—in fact every mental condition bearing upon the spiritual life of man had a fascination for him, and, though his own convictions were hard and fast, he had great sympathy with and comprehension of other forms of spiritual life. He was at once the severest taskmaster to himself, and the most liberal judge of others."

In brief it may be said that Liddon's severity was reserved not for error, but for treachery—not for a failure to recognize Divine Truth, but for the pitiful stratagem of retaining office and emolument in a Church whose expressed faith one denies or belittles. "It seems to me," he wrote in 1885, "that to say that the Prayer Book or Ordinal proceeds on a mistaken view of the Will of our LORD, must be less ungrateful to Him than to employ its solemn language in an utterly unreal way. . . . I can understand only too well how easily people are alienated from the Church of England by those of us

who accept her Formularies and Organization for no other reason than that they are recognized by the State, and in combination with religious theories which make them unintelligible or erroneous."

With reference to a sermon preached by a Broad Church Bishop on Queen Victoria's first Jubilee, he wrote as follows:—

"I confess I was shocked by the Bishop of ———'s sermon, as reported in the *Times*. Laudatory allusions to people like Huxley, without one word of regret that they deny the first of all truths, and that, if they are right, the preacher himself is a very gross and overpaid impostor. And nothing about the Church of which he himself is a Chief Pastor, the world and that which belongs to it having apparently taken the place of the Kingdom of God in minds of this kind."

It is impossible to discuss Liddon as Theologian without saying a word about his relation to Criticism. It is, of course, sadly true that Criticism, in some clumsy and unguarded forms, did much to embitter his last days. But, in spite of all aberrations, there is such a thing as devout and well-considered Criticism; and Liddon was much too good a scholar—had far too keen a sense of the evidential value of language—to ignore or rebuke it. "Criticism," he wrote in 1889, "is an equivocal term, and is applied to many

different kinds of Textual or Exegetical work. Dr. Pusey, in one sense, was a great critic." Everyone who admits that the text of the Heavenly Records is an interpolation, or reads the Adorable Name for "Joshua" in *Hebrews* iv. 8, or omits the bewildering negative in the First Lesson for Christmas Morning, has conceded something to Criticism. But Liddon knew full well that Criticism is an ever-shifting process ; that its results are often ephemeral ; that theories which to-day it treats as axioms to-morrow it repudiates as delusions ; that it habitually substitutes probability for demonstration, and gaily assumes where it cannot prove. When Criticism announces some new and strange discovery, the part of wisdom is not to fall down in ecstatic admiration : but to wait and see what is said next year. In 1887 Liddon wrote :—

"When I saw Dr. Döllinger a year ago we were talking about Wellhausen's *Prolegomena*. I forget how many 'assumptions' he told me he had counted, when at last he could stand it no longer, and put the book down." As a literary exercise, Criticism is no doubt full of interest and charm : but it is proverbially unsafe to build one's house on a quicksand.

Liddon was, of course, wholly uncommitted to any theory of Verbal Inspiration, whether in the writers or in the copyists of the Sacred Books. "No authoritative definition of the Inspiration of Scripture—of what it does and

does not permit or imply—has been propounded by the Church of CHRIST.” But still “GOD the HOLY GHOST speaks to the heart and conscience through the Bible, as He speaks through no other existing book.” The Church, in giving us the Bible, gave it as a whole, and gave it as inspired. “The Church is indeed historically older than the New Testament ; but the New Testament is the supreme work of the HOLY SPIRIT when glorifying CHRIST in the Church.” Divine authority is not restricted to the New Testament. “For Christians it will be enough to know that our LORD JESUS CHRIST set the seal of His infallible sanction on the whole of the Old Testament.” “Profoundly interesting as must be the least important enquiry that concerns GOD’s earlier Revelation of Himself, there is a question compared with which the most important that can concern it sinks at once into utter insignificance. That question is whether He, with Whom, in life and in death, we Christians have to do, is a fallible or The Infallible CHRIST.”

From the consideration of Liddon as Theologian, one passes by a natural transition to Liddon as Priest. And here it may be briefly said that, as he taught, so he practised. His Essay on “The Priest in his Inner Life,” prefixed to the Sermons on *Clerical Life and Work*, shows that as early as 1856 he had formed, not merely in outline but in detail,

that high ideal of priestly duty to which his practice so faithfully conformed. He held that the Celebration of the Holy Eucharist is "the highest service which a creature can render to the Supreme Being." By this "central and supreme act," the Christian Ministry "is directly associated in the mediatorial work of JESUS CHRIST." This being so, he naturally embraced every opportunity of celebrating, whether in S. Paul's Cathedral or in a Sisters' Chapel, or in a Parish Church. For the discharge of this high function he prepared himself with anxious care. As long ago as the days when he was Prebendary of Salisbury, he had deplored the want of musical education, which made it impossible for the Canons Residentiary to take their part at the altar "without the most inharmonious result," and he carefully trained his own voice¹ for the Choral Eucharist at S. Paul's. He had helped to compile that well-known guide for celebrants, *The Priest to the Altar*, and he was scrupulous about every posture and gesture which might mark the reverence due to the Holy Things.

He was rigorous in the recitation of the Daily Offices, not intermitting it even in the last stages of his last illness, and supplementing

¹ Sir George Martin says—"As to his singing voice, the compass was undoubtedly that of a high tenor. The quality, like that of his speaking voice, was of great purity, and the tone excellent."

the offices with the "Lesser Hours." He was a man of profound and persevering prayer. He abounded in intercession. He was a proficient in the divine art of Systematic Meditation. What he was in the Ministry of Penance has already been described. What he was in the pulpit can never be forgotten by his hearers, and can be, to some extent, realized by those who study his sermons. The most casual observer was forced to note that such preaching as his must be the product not only of intense emotion but also of close study and penetrating thought. His correspondence covered the whole range of spiritual and theological interests. In brief it may be said that, from his rising at a very early hour to his late lying-down for rest, his whole day was consecrated to the work, either direct or indirect, of the Christian Priesthood. One can scarcely doubt that he was describing his own practice, when he thus described the close of the Priest's working day: "He will say Compline with his servants, and will spend a quarter of an hour in general and particular self-examination; for he will learn others best in the abyss of his own heart. He will offer the day to GOD, and pray for mercy on his many falls, and for more perfect devotion to the cause of JESUS CHRIST. He will lay him down in peace, anxious yet light-hearted, commending his spirit into his FATHER'S Hands, and resigning himself to the Will and protection of his gracious Saviour."

To the ideal of the Priestly Life set forth in the Essay from which these words are quoted, it should be added that Liddon set a high value on Clerical Celibacy. On this subject he held no "rigorist" or exaggerated doctrine. With the examples of his heroes, Keble and Pusey, before his eyes, he could not denounce marriage after Ordination as inconsistent with priestly obligations. In sketching the early life of Bishop Hamilton, he was careful to note that marriage "certainly did not involve any lowering of the religious standard." But, for all that, he was gratified when his friends in Holy Orders chose to fashion their lives after S. Paul's rather than S. Peter's example. When they changed their estate, he was distressed; and, if they happened to be already Bishops, the case was worse. Thus, at different dates (which it is expedient to suppress), he wrote as follows:—"You will have heard of ——'s projected wedding. The Bishop so approves of it, that he wishes rooms to be added to the College for a married Principal. It almost seems as though a temper of high purpose in such matters could not be maintained in the Church of England." Again, "It is a mistake to regard Bishop —— as a High Churchman. He is going to be married again in spite of 1st Tim. III. 2." Again, "I am very much distressed at hearing that Bishop —— is going to be married. He is one of the few in whom we had invested a large stock of hope

and enthusiasm ; and this *fiasco* seems to show that no one can be trusted. Here are A, B, and C, all sound Churchmen—all consecrated Bishops while yet young men—and all these marrying after their consecration !” And yet once again, with reference to two other offenders : “The Bishops of — and — have, each of them, two wives, although in different worlds. . . . How it exposes the poor Church to the taunts of her opponents !”

When we have considered Liddon as Theologian and as Priest, it is natural to approach “the mixed sphere of religion and the *Saeculum*,”¹ and to glance at his views on the relation between Church and State. Of course he was profoundly Anti-Erastian. He believed that the Church of England, as part of the Holy Catholic Church, is a Spiritual Society, with a God-given life, and that she has rights, duties, and laws of her own which the State can neither create nor destroy. As regards the hostility of the State to the independence of the Church, he thought that we had not suffered more heavily than other parts of Christendom. In 1876 he wrote—“We cannot, if we would, get rid of Justinian or of Charlemagne ; and they interfered, in *spiritual* questions, almost as energetically, if not quite, as did Elizabeth . . . I do not think that these districts of history are much studied by writers of the ‘Presbyter

¹ Mr. Gladstone.

Anglicanus'¹ type." And again, in 1887—"A study of the reigns of the Emperor Justinian or of Louis XIV., but particularly the former, shows that Erastianism is not of one age or country."

He repudiated what he called "crude theories to the effect that any union or understanding between the Church of God and the Civil Power involves a species of spiritual adultery." He held that such a doctrine was contradicted by the instinct and practice of the Universal Church. "When the State has shed Christian blood, the Christian Church has, as in the first three centuries of her existence, bowed her neck to the executioner as to the Will of God; when the State has permitted it, the Church has lost no time—to use ancient language—in placing the cross on the diadem of the Cæsar. It was clearly better for humanity that the two powers, the Civil and the Ecclesiastical, each of them Divine in its origin, should, when possible, work harmoniously; and this harmony has been effected, not by any formal compact or treaty, but by the silent action of those higher instincts of charity and order which are deep and permanent in the heart of the Church."

At the same time he frankly admitted that the idea of a union between Church and State had been profoundly modified by the actual

¹ "Presbyter Anglicanus" was a Romanizing clergyman who soon afterwards seceded.

conditions of modern England, where "the Parliament, which still claims to control the Faith and Worship of the Christian Society, is itself largely composed of unbelievers." "If," he said, "the union of Church and State is to continue, it can only be when these changed circumstances are practically recognized,—the Church asking for less in the way of support and privilege than heretofore, and the State foregoing the claim to interfere with the Church's spiritual functions. Should Parliament, in the years which are before us, show an increasing disposition to treat the Church of CHRIST in this country as if she were merely 'a department of the Civil Service,' the consciences of faithful Churchmen will, however reluctantly, be driven to urge the separation of Church and State. The Public Worship Regulation Act was an experiment, which cannot be repeated without entailing serious consequences."

In 1885 he wrote—"Our real danger lies in the direction of attempts to save the Church from Disestablishment and Disendowment by 'Liberalizing'—i.e., destroying—what it has of fixed doctrine and discipline. Fremantle¹ is the most mischievous of the advocates of this policy; but Dr. Ince,² our Regius Professor, has just proclaimed to the world, in a University Sermon, that he is willing to give up the Creed

¹ The Hon. and Very Rev. W. H. Fremantle, Dean of Ripon.

² The Rev. W. Ince, Regius Professor of Divinity.

of S. Athanasius, and to 'reform' the Service for the Visitation of the Sick and the Ordinal. The first concession is to please the Broad ; the two last, the Puritan party. I pray that he may be made 'like unto a wheel.'"

With regard to the property of the Church, Liddon by no means admitted that "the endowments of a Church necessarily corrupt it ;" but he realized full well that worldly wealth sometimes reconciles endowed Churches to the surrender of spiritual rights. In 1869 he wrote—"We have sold our spiritual liberty for a mess of pottage ; a large and nutritious mess, no doubt, but scarcely worth what was given for it." In the crucial case of the Irish Church, he stood aloof from the violent contentions for and against Disestablishment. His attitude was that which he had learnt from Keble and the *Lyra Apostolica* :

"The Church shone brightly in her youthful days
Ere the world on her smiled ;
So now, an outcast, she would pour her rays,
Keen, free, and undefiled :
Yet would I not that arm of force were mine
Which thrusts her from her ancient, awful shrine."

Disestablishment of course removed the Irish Archbishops and Bishops from the House of Lords ; and Liddon would not have been much perturbed if their English brethren had followed them. When the Law of Burial was under discussion in 1876, he wrote—"As

for the two Archbishops, I cannot help thinking that the line they take must make a good many people, who do not generally agree with us, ask themselves the question whether anything is now gained by those seats in the House of Lords. Practically, they enable the State to despoil and demoralize the Church in a dignified sort of way."

In this connexion I may quote a pleasing story, communicated to me by the kindness of the present Head of the Pusey House. Liddon had been dining at Merton, during the Wardenship of the late Mr. G. C. Brodrick, and thus reported his post-prandial conversation with that characteristic specimen of the Academic Liberal—"We disagreed on many points, and at last I said, 'I think perhaps there is one point on which we shall be agreed: I am most anxious to see the Bishops out of the House of Lords.' 'I fear,' said the Warden, 'that we shall not agree even there: I think it is a good thing to keep the Bishops under the healthy influence of lay opinion.'"

CHAPTER XI.

POLITICS.

WHEN Liddon died, his brother wrote in the *Guardian*—"With regard to his politics, he is claimed as a Liberal. He certainly was no Party politician; he subordinated his politics to his religious convictions." This sentence exactly accords with my own recollections. Liddon once said to me—"The real interest of politics is to watch the course of events, and, when the time for voting comes, to vote for the Party which is supporting what one believes to be the cause of Righteousness in the prominent question of the moment."

In May, 1878, at the very crisis of the Eastern Question, a vacancy in the representation of the University of Oxford was created by the elevation of Mr. Gathorne Hardy to the Peerage. The Conservative candidate was Mr. J. G. Talbot, a devoted adherent of Lord Beaconsfield; the Liberal was Professor H. J. S. Smith, of whom Freeman remarked that he was admirably qualified to represent Laodicea in the Parliament of Asia Minor. Liddon declined to vote. "To vote

for Talbot was to vote for Lord Beaconsfield and his Eastern policy. To vote for Smith was to vote for that variety of Liberalism which . . . is too academical to care about questions of right and wrong." At the General Election of 1880 he voted enthusiastically for the Liberals, who were then upholding the cause of Righteousness in Foreign Affairs. At the Election of 1885 he voted against the Liberals, who were menacing the Church. In 1887¹ he wrote, "As to Home Rule, I have what the Liberals call 'an open mind,' although I find it difficult to see how, if granted, it will not create more troubles than it relieves." He placed his political conscience in no man's keeping. Even with regard to the few politicians whom he genuinely admired, he reserved his right of private judgment on their policies and acts. When Mr. Gladstone lost his seat for the University of Oxford, he wrote to the Bishop of Salisbury—"The pathos of the speech at Manchester² makes one love and respect Mr. Gladstone more than ever; and, if I were to trust my feelings, I could go in for a very advanced Liberalism in political matters. That the Carlton Club and the *Record* newspaper chose to oppose Gladstone was natural and right; they acted after their kind. That our friends should have enabled them to

¹ Wrongly printed 1885 in the *Life and Letters*.

² In this speech Mr. Gladstone declared his devotion to the University which had just dismissed him.

carry out their wishes is one of the saddest episodes in the history of the Church Movement." In later years, he said, "When Gladstone is gone, then we shall feel that we have had a prophet among us." But in 1882 he wrote to Freeman, "Is not 'the People's William' remiss in the matter of the Turk? Once or twice of late, he has fondled the Turk more or less unbecomingly." In February, 1885, when the crimes and follies of our Egyptian policy were coming home to roost, he wrote, "No doubt it is difficult to defend the hesitations of the Government; but people are very wise after the event, and they make little or no allowances for those elements in a situation which are beyond all human control. Mr. Gladstone's real misfortune is to have had a menagerie instead of a Cabinet—herein resembling the assortment of Chaplains at Lambeth.¹ No good ever comes in the moral world of these unseemly mixtures. Above all I regret his having a colleague in Mr. Chamberlain." And again, with regard to the Church he wrote in the same year—"Mr. Gladstone is a statesman, under the strongest temptations to make Church interests give way to the exigencies of politics, and with a fatal power of inventing theories on the spur of the moment, in order to justify these surrenders. I believe that, if cross-questioned,

¹ W. Cadman, B. F. Smith, E. S. Talbot, H. Wace, S. R. Hole, B. F. Westcott.

he would say . . . that he has, under great difficulties, done his best for what he believes to be true. I agree with you that that best is little.¹ . . . His greatest opportunity was Lambeth ; and *how* sadly it was missed ! ”

For Lord Salisbury he had the most sincere respect ; but he wrote of him in 1875 : “ The fact is that to be in office, or near it, makes it very difficult for men to look at a question of religious truth entirely on its merits,” and four years later he wrote : “ Lord Salisbury is quite incapable of knowingly saying what is untrue or doing what is dishonourable. . . . This is quite compatible with his making great mistakes, and on subjects of the greatest importance.” In 1879 he wrote : “ Lord Granville is not much in my way, though he can be brilliant and amusing. The only Liberal whom I really trust is Mr. Gladstone, and he is often like Lord Salisbury, damaged more or less seriously by his political associates.” “ Liberalism itself is, on all matters connected with Church and Education, only a kind of corporate and ‘ respectable ’ ungodliness ; and I cannot forget or forgive its misdeeds in this way (because it has largely, though not by any means entirely, gone right about the Eastern Question) so easily as MacColl² does.”

¹ This was written before Dr. King was made Bishop of Lincoln.

² Rev. Malcolm MacColl, Canon of Ripon.

“As to Liberalism, I admire its Foreign Policy, but cannot endure it in the sphere of Education. It is by instinct heathenish in that matter.”

Enough has been already cited to shew that to Liddon the Eastern Question was pre-eminently one of those political issues in which the real question is between Right and Wrong, Light and Darkness, CHRIST and Belial. In 1878 he enunciated a principle which, in these days of Anglo-Japanese Alliances, may be profitably laid to heart: “Between Russia or England, taken at their worst, and Turkey, the difference is enormous. It is the difference which Christianity alone can make. Christianity always carries with it the germs of progressive improvement; whereas Mahomedanism condemns the races which it curses to stagnate in evil. . . . Russia contains the true secret of improvement, and her advance in Central Asia has been as great a blessing to humanity as our own in India. Each has limited the area of triumphant brutality.”

In the following year he wrote to Dr. Dale, “I have often and often wished that we, as a body, could have been as true to what was morally as well as theologically the Cause of CHRIST in Eastern Europe as were the English Nonconformists.”

After the bitter passage quoted above about the “Ungodliness” of Liberalism, it is an

agreeable surprise to read Liddon's plea for the admission of the late Mr. Bradlaugh to the House of Commons in 1880. It takes very much the same line as was taken by Mr. Gladstone in his famous speech on the Affirmation Bill.¹ "It seems to me, as an outsider, that the Oath notoriously breaks down if considered as a protection of the Theistic belief of the House: and this quite independently of Mr. Bradlaugh. We both know, or have known, Members of the House who are not Theists, but who have no scruple about taking the oath. I see nothing to differentiate—*e.g.*, the late Mr. J. S. Mill's doctrine of the Categories in his 'Logic' from Mr. Bradlaugh's performances in the *National Reformer*, except that the latter is coarse and repulsive, while the former is interesting to every educated man. Our modern society tolerates any amount of blasphemy against the Being and Attributes of GOD—still more against His Revelation of Himself in and through CHRIST our LORD—if only the blasphemy be thrown into good literary form. Mr. Bradlaugh's real offence is not his Atheism, but the coarseness which accompanies it; and yet this coarseness is surely a service which he unintentionally renders to religion. When I say that the religious character of the House of Commons is a 'fiction,' I do not

¹ April 26th, 1883.

forget that it contains a great many excellent Christians. But it also contains misbelievers and unbelievers in large numbers; and, alas! as matters stand, these latter interest themselves quite as actively as do the Christians in the sacred interests of the Church of CHRIST. Mr. Bradlaugh's presence in the House will not really add much to the Anti-Christian and Anti-Theistic elements of it; but it will bring vividly before the mind of the people of this country the unfitness of a legislative body to which he belongs to handle the truths of Divine Revelation and the concerns of the Christian Church. He reduces to a positive absurdity a state of things which for sincere Christians has long been well-nigh intolerable. You will say, perhaps, that this is a narrow issue on which to decide a great question. But there is another point, which I own has great weight with me as a clergyman. If Mr. Bradlaugh had been admitted to the House of Commons without any delay, he would have found his level, and in all probability his baneful influence with the people would have been materially lessened, as Mill's certainly was. But, as matters stand now, he has made himself a name and a power beyond his wildest expectations. He has, as somebody said, become part of the history of England; and he will pose as a Confessor all through this autumn. His wretched books have now an enormous circulation; I have had a great

many letters from people who have taken to reading him solely in consequence of the vast advertisement which he has secured for himself and for his productions. The longer this resistance to his entrance to the House goes on, the keener and wider will be the infidel propaganda—a propaganda which is not less serious from a social point of view than from a theological and religious one.”

On the economic side of politics Liddon's leanings were perceptibly, though perhaps not avowedly, towards what is vaguely called “Christian Socialism.” As we have already seen, he detested the harshness and hardness of the Poor Law as commonly administered. He had imbibed something of Dr. Pusey's fear that “in the great Day many even kindly people will find that reliance on the Poor Law has steeled their heart against CHRIST.”¹ I well remember his painful interest in the great strike at the London Docks in 1889, and the alacrity with which he subscribed to the fund for maintaining the strikers' wives and children. “There, at any rate, one cannot be doing wrong.”² He had scant respect for the stiff dogmatism of Political Economy. A beggar on the roadside was a brother in CHRIST, with a definite claim on his sympathy and help. Dr.

¹ *Christianity without the Cross a Corruption of the Gospel of Christ.* A Sermon by E. B. Pusey, D.D., 1875.

² See also “Self-Denial” in *Sermons on some words of Christ.*

Holland says that he was "the terror and the plague of the Charity Organization Society. Several old men who sold pencils in the streets were popularly believed to be sustained in existence by his constant purchases;" and little boys on the Thames Embankment who made "wheels" for his amusement might rely confidently on adequate rewards. One who knew him well says, "He gave presents or tips in a way that made the recipients feel that they were conferring a favour in accepting the gift."

The question of Women's Rights and Women's Duties has become so closely interwoven with politics, that Liddon's view concerning it may be suitably introduced in connexion with his political opinions. For womanhood he had the most chivalrous respect; to women his manner, always beautifully courteous, became even reverential. But anything that brought women into the rough-and-tumble of public life, forced them on to platforms, or in any way blurred the vital distinction between womanhood and manhood, he hated with a cordial hatred. When a friend asks him if he is going to the Church Congress, he replies: "No; I remarked in the papers that a flock of Publicly-talking Women had settled on the Congress. This alone would be a reason for not going there." When women took the platform on behalf even of very sacred causes

his condemnation was equally unsparing. "I have been corresponding with Miss X. about the Publicly-talking Women. The last letter will, I fear, have wounded her; but it can hardly be helped. We seem to live in a time when everything that is opposed to the traditional sense of Christendom flaunts itself as never before. Miss X. takes refuge in the Bishop of Y., who, it seems, has commissioned her to talk to young men about morality in public meetings."

This view of the sacredness of womanhood affected his view of women's education. He rejoiced that women should acquire every form of culture and accomplishment, but he insisted that they must pursue their studies in private. In 1879 he wrote from Oxford: "Talbot,¹ and even dear King,² have gone in for it, and are engaged in establishing a Hall for these young persons here in Oxford. Think of sending A. and B. to places like Oxford or Cambridge, where there are two thousand young men, to be met out for walks, in Lectures, at Church; to be discussed and amused, or anything else! It seems madness to Christian common-sense . . . There are *mixed* Committees of both sexes, mixed Councils for these new Halls."

Nine years later, it chanced that he was the guest at Cambridge of a lady who had just

¹ Afterwards Bishop of Southwark.

² Afterwards Bishop of Lincoln.

attained the first place in the Classical Tripos, and he thus described his hostess: "Mrs. Z. is really a delightful person, very simple and unassuming, and never dropping a hint that she is at all accomplished." That same afternoon he drank tea at Newnham Hall, and it is possible to detect just a touch of his ingrained suspicion, qualifying his appreciation of the lady-students. "I am bound to say that those whom I saw were very lady-like and *un-be-ish*; they may, or may not, have been average specimens."

CHAPTER XII.

CHARACTERISTICS—SUMMARY.

I TURN now from "views" and opinions to personal characteristics. What was Liddon like? It has been already implied, and may here be stated, that his facial beauty was almost faultless. The nose was very nearly straight and sharply chiselled, the nostrils curling upwards with a critical and rather fastidious curve. The chin was prominent and strongly-moulded, the mouth wide but firmly set, and connected by a deep groove or furrow with the corners of the nostrils. His forehead was broad, and crowned by a mass of straight hair, which once was black but latterly nearly white, though the definitely-marked eyebrows retained their blackness to the end.

Liddon's physical beauty began and ended with his face. He had neither figure nor carriage. He had been spare in early life, but latterly became more portly, and his height was not proportioned to his width. His bearing, except in the pulpit, was not impressive; and Lord Acton's phrase, "the deferential sacristan," hit a certain aspect of his appearance.

When we turn from physical to mental traits, the impression which dominates all others in my remembrance of Liddon is that of his vitality. He was alive all through—vivid, vivacious, sensitive, alert. He seemed surcharged with moral electricity, which tingled and flashed and sometimes scorched. One form of his vitality was his effervescing humour, not always very sedulously restrained. His sense of the ludicrous knew no bounds except those prescribed by reverence and charity. This was a painful stumbling-block in the way of serious people—dons, pedagogues, dignitaries, whether secular or ecclesiastical. To “jock wi’ deeficulty” is the hard lot of some very excellent people, and there is a still larger class which finds it difficult to enjoy or even tolerate the jokes of other people. To such as these, it must be confessed, Liddon’s humour was often a sore trial. The Bishop of Oxford strangely says that Liddon “seldom talked of people.” One who knew Liddon much more intimately notes the statement, and asks in natural astonishment: “Were Liddon’s stories really ever anything else than personal? It was the personal, dramatic effectiveness that gave him this power, and made old Gaisford¹ and Harry of Exeter² such living personalities for us.” This exactly accords with my own impression. He was personal, when he de-

¹ Thomas Gaisford (1779–1855), Dean of Christ Church.

² Henry Phillpotts (1778–1869), Bishop of Exeter.

scribed how Archbishop Tait had heckled him when he was a witness before a Royal Commission: "Yes, dear friend, he doth ravish the poor when he getteth him into his net." He was personal when he wrote that London was just then buried under a dense fog, "which is commonly attributed to Dr. Westcott having opened his study-window at Westminster." He was personal when he said of a smooth book of vague divinity: "Yes, it is the sort of book which a Little Fog writes, and dedicates to the Great Fog." He was even more personal than usual when he wrote with regard to an ecclesiastical appointment in which Mr. Gladstone had greatly disappointed him: "The Prime Minister has given us, instead of an alabaster box of ointment very precious, an ornamental jar of scented pomatum."

Certainly he was personal in two famous speeches, felicitously reported by Dr. Holland: "Very rarely, indeed, could he be induced to make a speech. He hardly ever would go on a platform. He avoided all conceivable oratorical opportunities. But, when he did speak, you felt that he was as excellently gifted for it as for preaching. He had the un-English power of becoming more terse and epigrammatic the more he was moved. Two or three delicious occasions I well remember. Once at the Cuddesdon Festival, when King had just been appointed Professor, and W. E.

Jelf had written a pamphlet, charging Bright and King with patronizing all the Ritual excesses of S. Barnabas', and enquiring how far they meant to go, with the title *Quousque tandem?* Liddon at the luncheon, pictured King riding into Oxford on his cob to take up his duties, and finding himself stopped by an old gentleman with not much to do, on Magdalen Bridge, who is saying : '*Quousque tandem*, Mr. Professor of Pastoral Theology?' Then he gave King's imagined answer in a series of retorts which flew like pistol-shots round the tent, each beginning 'I am not going to stop, until . . .' I only recall one now : 'I am not going to stop until I have convinced the young men of Oxford that the Church of England is something more than the shell of an establishment !' The effect of the stinging epigrams, as they followed on each other's heels, delivered with flashing eye and the terse utterance of passionate conviction, was absolutely electrical.

"Then there was the famous speech at the Union Jubilee Dinner in the Corn Market, Oxford, which had the disastrous effect of reducing Matthew Arnold to speechlessness. We had toiled on through an enormous array of speeches : Lord Salisbury, Lord Selborne, Lord Coleridge, and more : Archbishop Manning had given us a mournful funeral oration on the dead : we had got wearied and despairing : it was drawing on to midnight : every speaker apologized for its being so late, and then

rambled on through the long speech that he could not bring himself to shorten. Yet, still we hung on in hope, to hear Liddon propose Literature, coupled with the name of Matthew Arnold. He would be worth dying in our chairs to hear. 'Tom'¹ was getting himself together for his midnight effort, before it was reached. Liddon rose. In a moment we had risen out of a corpse-like listlessness into acute attention. He shot out each perfect sentence : he delicately chaffed : he stole to the very edge of dangerous ground, and then, as we trembled lest he should go too far, he sheered off through some felicitous phrase : he praised, yet retained sincerity : he let us feel the gulf that yawned between him and his subject, yet never forced the matter. It was exquisite in banter, real in emotion, flawless in expression. When he sat down, we found ourselves shouting in an enthusiasm of which we had thought ourselves incapable at that exhausted hour. And Matt ? Well, he took the measure of the situation. It was obviously impossible at that late hour to produce an effect that could stand against Liddon's. He gave it up. 'Everybody else who has spoken has said it was time to go to bed ; and I am one who believes it.' So he rose, said, and sat down, leaving his speech where it was in his pocket : and out we streamed into the street."

But, though his fun was often personal, it

¹ The great bell of Christ Church.

was by no means limited to personalities. It broke out sometimes in his sermons, where personalities could scarcely be indulged. He is preaching on the first Sunday in August, and warning his hearers against the perils of the Public House on the public holiday. "If S. Paul could rise from his grave, and traverse the streets of London in the afternoon of a wet Bank-holiday, he would, I think, be disposed to modify his statement that they that be drunken are drunken in the night." The unfitness of the Judicial Committee to decide questions of Christian doctrine and worship was illustrated by a happy comparison: "It would be no disparagement to the merits of a besom to say that it was not a suitable implement with which to clean the Turners and the Claudes in the National Gallery." Phrases of this type, if ever they crept into his sermons, were erased before the sermon was printed: but echoes of them lingered in the ear.¹ A sarcastic reference to rationalizing theories of the Fall of Jericho was considerably toned down before the Second Series of University Sermons was published, though it may still be detected; and the reader may search in vain for an allusion to those teachers whose motto would seem to be, "I live, yet henceforth not I, but Plato liveth in me."

There were certain types of ecclesiastical life

¹ A friend writes: "He put in bits and hits that are not in print."

and thought which never failed to elicit Liddon's shafts. "How singular!" he said to me, as we stood before the portrait of Bishop William Jackson¹—"how singular to reflect that *that person* was chosen in the Providential order to connect Mr. Keble with the Apostles!" Everyone who knows S. Paul's must know the monument to T. F. Middleton, Bishop of Calcutta, in the South Aisle. The Bishop, who seems several sizes larger than life and wears marble sleeves of corresponding dimensions, is invoking a blessing on an Indian boy and girl, who kneel, nude and minute, at his feet. Liddon delighted in recounting the explanation of this work of art which he heard a workman impart to his friend: "Why, don't you see? It's the Almighty creating Adam and Eve." He made fun of an Evangelical clergyman whose favourite topic in preaching was "the danger of thinking to be saved by works," whereas the "works to which a large proportion of his parishioners were somewhat conspicuously addicted were not of a character to suggest the question of being saved at all." When there was a rumour that the Prussian Protestants were going to send a "Bishop" to Jerusalem, he wrote: "As they are presbyterians, it is much as if a hen-owl were to undertake to lay an eagle's egg. But in an age of Protestant gush, which covers the void of profound indifference to principles, one thing

¹ (1751-1815), Bishop of Oxford.

will do, I suppose, as well as another. Meanwhile, Bishops are becoming very cheap—more so than could be wished by those who would maintain the ancient respect for the Order." When his friends embarked on foolish courses he would gently warn them, that "if you begin to slide down an inclined plane, you cannot stop in the middle merely by wishing earnestly to do so." He excused himself for spending several hours of a precious Sunday in writing a letter of advice to a friend who had got into a foolish scrape, on the ground that the act was analogous to that of pulling an ass out of a pit on the Sabbath Day.

He excelled in vigorous phrase-making. "The Palmer-Worm" has been noticed already. Our poor attempts to keep religion alive in the Secularized University he likened to "combing the hair of a corpse." Of one who promised stout resistance to a wrong policy and then surrendered, he said: "Yes; the good man set his face against it—but not like a flint—like a pudding." Time out of mind, it has been conceded that even the patience of philosophy is exhausted by toothache; but in Liddon's case humour taught philosophy a lesson. "I have been quite laid up by trouble with my few remaining teeth, of which I had five taken out the day before yesterday. As only four remain, this particular experience cannot be repeated in this present life."

I am well aware that the aspect of Liddon's

character which I am now considering may appear unnatural and out of keeping to those who know him only through his published letters. It would almost seem as if he used his pen as the safety-valve of his more anxious thoughts, reserving his fun and light-heartedness for social intercourse with his friends. He was never better than at a small dinner-party of people whom he knew thoroughly well, and with whom he could trust himself. Having worked hard all day, and from a very early hour, he had an excellent appetite, ate heartily, and enjoyed a glass of wine. But his fun was not in the least dependent on these provocatives, but, as Dr. Holland says, "it used positively to disgrace the mild austerities of a fish-tea on Fridays, at which he used to delight in joining us." On all social occasions, if Liddon was in good trim and felt at home with his company, the result was sure to be "a babel of happy and uproarious laughter."

But it must always be borne in mind that Liddon's cheerfulness was part of his religion. No human being ever had a deeper or more abiding sense of direct responsibility to God. "A Christian," he said, "knows that he passes his earthly life between two momentous facts. Behind him is the Incarnation. Before him is the Judgment." In reply to a criticism of his preaching at S. Paul's, he wrote—"Alas! at the Day of Judgment, no one else can answer

for what I say or have left unsaid ; and, meanwhile, I try to think of that Day, and pray God for grace to enable me to help the greatest number, as best I may." A man who wrote thus was not likely to forget the awful solemnity of life and death ; but, if Liddon believed in the Day of Judgment, he believed not less intensely in the Forgiveness of Sins, and the restoration of the penitent Soul to peace and safety. He held, with his master Bishop Hamilton, that "light-heartedness is at once the right and the duty of a Christian whose conscience is in fairly good order."

His natural gaiety, unrestrained by any depressing imaginations, overflowed in his dealings with children and young people. He arranged holidays and amusements. He bought beautiful presents. He took part in obstreperous romps ; though, as childhood advanced into young ladyhood, he would have been dreadfully pained by rough ways or hoydenish merriment. His own manner was perfect, and in others he admired an even ceremonious bearing. This high value for courtesy was allied with, or perhaps part of, his deep sense of reverence, which was not reserved for Holy Things or Holy Places, but was bestowed on all that was beautiful in nature, and on all that had cost human skill and labour. "He could not endure to see a book roughly used."

His fondness for children was related to his love of animals. Children and animals alike were made by God, and were pretty, interesting, defenceless, and innocent. With horses he was not on familiar terms. In a sermon on Bishop Wilberforce, he describes him as having met his fatal accident when "cantering at a quiet trot."¹ Dogs are inadmissible in College Rooms, and would have been out of place in Amen Court. So Liddon's domestic affections were concentrated on cats, which he cherished with an eager but discriminating devotion. His niece writes—"As soon as he arrived on a visit to us, he sent for the parrot to sit in his room while he worked, and tried to bribe the dog of the house to do the same." I well remember his grave and tender expostulations with a child of five, who was trying some rather rudimentary experiments on a crab, and was with difficulty induced to remit the subject to its native deep. Feeling thus strongly about the animals, it was inevitable that Liddon should feel a horror of the calculated barbarity which is wrought in the scene of Vivisection. His speech in Convocation at Oxford in the debate about establishing a "Physiological Laboratory" in the University aptly illustrated his love of animals generally, and his ignorance of horses in particular. With regard to some concession made by the advocates of Torture, he said, "It is proverbially ungracious to look a

¹ Sermons on *Some Words of Christ*, p. 188.

gift-horse in the face." And though the Undergraduates in the gallery roared, "Mouth, sir, mouth," he went unheeding on his rhetorical way.

One of those who knew Liddon best has said that his two main enjoyments in life were Conversation and Landscape. Himself the best of talkers, he delighted in hearing other people talk well ; and he was perhaps the most appreciative recipient of a good story whom I have ever known. As regards Landscape, he would undertake any amount of exertion in order to see a fine view ; and his love of it was a strongly-marked feature of his æsthetic composition. The eye meant more to him than the ear. In a formal enumeration, he placed Poetry as "the first and highest of the arts" ; but a survey of his writings does not suggest the thought that he lived habitually in communion with the poets (except those who constructed the *Lyra Apostolica*). He poked fun at the people for whom music was only "a scientific form of noise." He enjoyed good music when it came his way (unless the composer was Wagner, for whom he had acquired from Döllinger a moral distaste). Sir George Martin says, "Dr. Liddon was distinctly musical, and was much affected, and I think helped, by certain compositions for the Church. One especially, 'In Thee, O LORD' (Weldon) he was very fond of, and it was always introduced, when possible, during his month of

residence. The music of Spohr's 'Last Judgment' also appealed to him strongly; yet he was devoted to the severity of the Gregorian mode."

His feeling towards painting was more enthusiastic. The early Italian School of sacred art was what he chiefly loved; and he would travel all across Europe to see some fine specimen which might have suddenly come to light in some obscure Refectory or Chapel. But it always seemed to me that Architecture was the sphere in which he was really most at home, combining scientific and historical knowledge of the art, with a keen discernment of its spiritual significance.

So entirely did Liddon live and move in the atmosphere of the Bible, that his feeling about different professions was to a great extent regulated by their Scriptural associations. S. Luke was a "beloved physician," and Liddon loved doctors and had a keen sense of the dignity and sacredness of their calling. Cornelius was a "devout Centurion," and Liddon rejoiced in every opportunity of showing his respect for the profession of the soldier.¹ The

¹ With reference to his Sermon on "Religion and Arms" (No. XVI. in "Sermons preached on Special Occasions") he wrote in 1889—"I am rather glad of the opportunity of setting such as myself right with the Army, who probably mistook our love of the persecuted Eastern Christians as hostility for their profession. Far from it, as you know."

Apostles were fishermen, and Liddon loved a chat with the blue-shirted mariners of the Brighton Beach. On the other hand, Pilate and Herod and Gallio were, in their various ways, politicians, and Liddon looked askance at the political character. S. Luke tells us of a Lawyer who tempted CHRIST, and S. Paul had some experience of a Judge who smote contrary to the law; Liddon realized uneasily that neither Judge nor Lawyer was unrepresented in modern England. With regard to the Theatrical profession, he was ready to admit that "there are actors and actresses who lead even saintly lives—saintly because victorious over temptation—and certainly higher than that, *e.g.*, of a clergyman who is never tried as they have been"; nor could the New Testament be quoted against the dramatic art. But "the Church had never had much doubt about the matter." She had "kept clear of *spectacula*." There was no form of entertainment which he so thoroughly enjoyed as good acting; but he saw it only in the houses of his friends, and he had never entered a theatre since his Ordination. It was his deliberate judgment that "the influence of the theatre, in the case of *average* human nature and character, lies in the *direction* of sin."

In this connexion it may not be out of place to indicate another point on which Liddon's Evangelical upbringing affected his judgment to the last. In 1879 he wrote, with reference to

a "Sunday Band," promoted by an enterprising clergyman—"The Puritan Sunday, certainly, has not a leg to stand on in the New Testament, or in the tradition of the Church of the first sixteen centuries. But my fear is lest we break it down, and are unable to put anything in its place. To give up something for GOD—even upon the strength of the misunderstanding of His Revealed Will—is better than to give up nothing. And this is very much the case (is it not?) with 'Sabbath observance,' so termed in modern England."

Mr. Arthur Benson, in his Life of his father, has a very curious passage about the Archbishop's relations with Liddon. It is curious, partly because it so profoundly misconceives Liddon's views of the Archbishop's churchmanship; and partly because of the terms in which it describes Liddon's mental constitution. "To the eager practical temperament of the Archbishop, the subtle metaphysical element in Canon Liddon's mind was wholly antagonistic."

Mr. Benson is so accomplished a critic that one hesitates to dissent from his deliberate judgment; and yet it must in candour be said that "a subtle metaphysical element" is about the last quality which I should have suspected of lurking in Liddon's mind. He belonged essentially to the Oxford of Aristotle and Butler, ere yet it had been sophisticated

by Kant and Hegel and T. H. Green. He seemed less at home when he was speculating on the abstract ideas of God and the Soul, the origin of Evil, and the possibility of Prayer, than when he was deducing lessons of faith and life from the Gospels and the Epistles. He was, indeed, a most vigorous thinker, but he did all his thinking in the terms of time and space. He did not shrink from applying temporal standards of measurement to the life of eternity. To him the things of sense were not adumbrations from intangible existences elsewhere, but realities—as real, in their own place and order, as the unseen Realities of the Supernatural Kingdom. He admitted the difficulties of religious belief; but then he “knew no part of truth, however axiomatic (except pure mathematics), to which some objections may not be raised.” He thought that the difficulty of believing in a Moral Governor of the universe was “on the whole greater than any that can be urged in detail against any part of the Christian Creed.” He admitted that the evidence for Christianity is “moral, not mathematical; but moral evidence is sufficient, and if faith is, as the New Testament represents it, a criterion of man’s moral state, mathematical evidence which should *compel* rational assent would be out of place.” He said to his friend, Mr. Oswald Simon, “God might, had He willed, have demonstrated His presence to us in the nature of a mathematical

proposition, and then everyone would have believed Him without any exercise of faith ; but it was His special purpose that He should be revealed through the affections and by the exercise of a faith which depended on love."

Liddon, by the exercise of such a faith, convinced himself of certain facts, objective, concrete, historical ; and by those facts all his thinking was dominated. He believed that God has revealed Himself to man in the Person of the Incarnate Son, Who died, and was buried, and rose again ; and that the Christian Society is the permanent witness to those events, and the Bible the authorized record of them.

These were the postulates of Liddon's thinking ; and, these once granted, he argued from them with irresistible cogency. It has been truly said that his mind was Latin, or as some say French, in structure. He disliked and despised what Matthew Arnold called the "splay-footedness" of German thought. He loved system and method, syllogism and deduction. He would have heartily endorsed the dogma of that vigorous dialectician, Archbishop Magee, who said that "logic is as real a fact as steam" ; but he would, I think, have shrunk from the distinction which Magee drew when, speaking of one of his early friends, he said, "He taught me how to think ; before I met him I only knew how to argue." Liddon would have vehemently resented Jowett's as-

persion on logic—"It is sometimes spoken of as an art, and sometimes as a science. It would be more properly described as a dodge"; and, though S. Ambrose laid it down that we are not saved by logic,¹ I think Liddon would have urged that logic may play a useful part in the process.

If it be true that the aim of Logic is to ascertain truth, and the aim of Rhetoric to persuade men, Liddon was at least as great a Rhetorician as he was a Logician. He had in a singular degree the power of leading a sympathetic hearer to the conclusion at which he wished him to arrive. In the skilful combination of fact, inference, illustration, and appeal, he had no rival. Regarded as a practical effort for a definite end, his rhetoric was perfect; but, when we come to regard it as a literary performance, we must walk more warily. Henry Nettleship,² when he was an Assistant Master at Harrow, often tried to make his pupils share his devotion to Newman's sermons; some of us, in those callow days, felt them a little cold and thin. We preferred Liddon's fervent declamation; and were a good deal put out when Nettleship said, "But Liddon's style is vulgar."

¹ Non in dialecticâ complacuit Deo saluum facere populum Suum. S. Ambrose, *De Fide*, 1, §42.

² Henry Nettleship (1839-1893) Corpus Professor of Latin at Oxford.

The lapse of years has enabled me to understand what my gentle teacher meant. It comes, I think, to this—that Liddon's hand was subdued to what it worked in, and that his lifelong devotion to newspapers left an indelible mark on his literary style. *The Times* represented every cause which he most cordially detested : it was, as he said, "embarrassed by no fixed principles" ; and yet the perusal of it was a duty no more to be intermitted than the Daily Offices, and it was read to him every day in his last illness. It would have been well if he had confined himself to the *Times* ; but he read omnivorously. Nothing in the way of journalism came amiss to him, and the curious point is that he disliked what he read, but went on reading it. He found the *Spectator* "flagrantly disloyal to Christian truth." He enjoyed "the wrath of the *Pall Mall*" when the Jingoës were worsted. He scoffed when the *Standard* "shrieked," and the *Daily Telegraph* "tried thoughtful remonstrance." He equally disliked all the "unlovely family" of the *Month*, the *Record*, and the *Rock*. He incessantly condemned the treachery of the *Guardian*, and the truculence of the *Church Times*. He groaned over "an execrable article in *Fraser* :"¹ and yet he went on reading all this stuff with scrupulous diligence. No man on earth could

¹ It should be borne in mind that, at the dates to which these quotations relate, all these papers were under editorship which have long since ceased.

come unscathed through such a process ; and Liddon's style always showed (though less conspicuously as years went on) the traces of the school in which it had been formed. One of those traces was that most ingrained of all journalistic habits—the unwillingness to call anyone or anything by a plain name when a periphrasis is available. Liddon called the Bible “the Sacred Volume,” the *Times* “the Leading Journal,” Mr. Keble “the Author of *The Christian Year*,” and Dr. Pusey “the Regius Professor of Hebrew.” When he wrote thus, every journalist must have recognized him as a man and a brother. The style of modern journalism has been so profoundly affected by Macaulay, that whoso writes journalese writes also Macaulayese : and Macaulay's influence on Liddon's style made itself felt in the short sentences, the rolling paragraphs, and the sonorous eloquence of the descriptive passages.

Reference has already been made to the chapter which the present Bishop of Oxford contributed to Principal Johnston's *Life and Letters of Henry Parry Liddon*. The chapter is written with much unction and urbanity, but it is pervaded throughout by an apologetic tone which is curiously out of place. We cannot doubt that the apology is offered in perfectly good faith. Indeed, to think otherwise would be to charge the Bishop with insensibility to a high privilege ; for Liddon, though nine-

teen years his senior, honoured him with a close and almost brotherly kindness, and never lost an opportunity of praising him. "F. Paget is a self-forgetting person." "F. Paget left Oxford to-day. What a blessing he has been to me during the last four years." Even in *Lux Mundi*, "F. Paget's" Essay was marked out from the rest by Liddon's commendation—"a real contribution to Christian Theology." Now that this gracious friend and master has been for fifteen years in his honoured grave, the Bishop of Oxford reviews his career, and finds two great defects in it. Divested of verbiage, those defects are found to be—(1) that Liddon was too fond of controversy, and (2) that he would have been a greater man if he had been a Bishop.

When I first read the former of these implied censures, there came back upon my memory some words from the Sermon on "The Curse on Meroz."¹ To play the part of Meroz was not congenial to Liddon's temperament. When a sacred cause was imperilled, he flung himself into the thick of the fighting with absolute and calculated self-surrender. He did not stand aloof to see which side was going to win. To

¹ "To refuse aid to the Sacred Cause until it was certain of success, was, in a man or a community belonging to the Covenanted Nation, an act of virtual apostasy; and Meroz was not merely politically disfranchised: it was religiously excommunicated."—*University Sermons*, Second Series.

imagine that he loved controversy is ridiculously to misconceive the man. He simply regarded it as a duty which could not be shunned without unfaithfulness, when the Honour and Truth of God were at stake. Thus he wrote from Oxford in 1868 :—"I often envy the scouts¹ and their boys, who know nothing of the Church troubles of our time, and who, if they like, can do their duty and go to Heaven without a previous hand-to-hand fight with Romans and unbelievers. However, this no doubt is wrong : we are best where and as God has placed us." It was Liddon's high though arduous fortune to fight and win some great battles for Truth and Righteousness : and the Bishop of Oxford may rest assured that no apology is needed for such a career.

The Bishop, who seems to be exceptionally impressed by the responsibilities of his office, writes solemnly about "great burdens of administration and government," and "lonely tasks of decision," which he has been called to bear : and says that it would have been better if Liddon had been obliged to share them. That Liddon would have been a chief glory of the English—indeed of the Universal—Episcopate is certain enough ; but the effect of Episcopal office on the character of even good men has not always been such as to make one wish to see the experiment tried in the case of those whom we love and honour. Of a certain

¹ College Servants.

Bishop who once "did run well," but, after his elevation, took to persecuting Ritualists, Liddon wrote :—"Popularity is his God, and all his higher chances in the way of character have been sacrificed at its shrine." As regards my loved and honoured master, I feel assured that his spiritual temper would have been proof against all such base temptations ; but still I am thankful that he was permitted to live and die in a position where he could testify for Truth without pausing to consider the susceptibilities of worldliness and time-serving and misbelief, whether displayed at courts, or in newspapers, or on episcopal thrones. It is true that Faithful was burned to ashes, and that Christian was all but drowned in crossing the river ; but, after all, they are more attractive characters than Mr. Facing-both-ways and Mr. Worldly-Wiseman. It would be well for the Church of England at this moment if a few more of her servants were inspired by Liddon's spirit, and were as ready as he to rebuke spiritual wickedness in high places, at whatever sacrifice of worldly ease and professional advancement.

In the life and character of Henry Parry Liddon the modern Church saw reproduced the attributes which marked the Saints or Apostolic and Sub-Apostolic times. He shared their personal devotion to our Adorable Redeemer ; their unconquerable valour in the defence of truth ; their capacity for Confessorship ; their readiness for Martyrdom : and his words concerning those who had gone before him with the Sign of Faith may serve as the summary of his own life in time and in eternity—

“Things would not have been better than they are for Martyrs and Confessors, if, in their day, the sea had been calm and the waves unruffled. For them, long since, the winds and waves of life have been stilled, and CHRIST has brought them to the haven where they would be. *Sit anima nostra cum Sanctis*—with them, if He wills, in the fellowship of their sorrows ; with them, through His mercy, as sharers of their everlasting rest !”¹

¹ “CHRIST in the Storm,” in *University Sermons*, Second Series.

APPENDIX A.

"Whereas, at this present time, imputations of disloyalty to the Church of England are current, to the discredit of those who have been, some of them for many years, inculcating and defending the Doctrines of the Real Objective Presence, of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, and of the adoration of CHRIST in the Blessed Sacrament; and whereas, by reason of these imputations, the minds of many are troubled: We therefore, the undersigned, exercising the office of the Priesthood within the Church of England, beg respectfully to state to your Grace, and through your Grace to our Right Reverend Fathers in God the Bishops of your Province, and to the Church at large, what we believe to be the mind of our LORD, touching the said Doctrines, as expressed in Holy Scripture, and as received by the Church of England in conformity with the teaching of the Catholic Church in those ages to which the Church of England directs us as 'most pure and uncorrupt,' and of 'the old godly doctors,' to whom she has in many ways referred us,—declaring hereby both what we repudiate, and what we believe, touching the said Doctrines.

"(1) We repudiate the opinion of a 'Corporal Presence of CHRIST's natural Flesh and Blood'; that is to say, of the Presence of His Body and Blood as They 'are in Heaven'; and the conception of the mode of His Presence, which implies the physical change of the natural substances of the bread and wine, commonly called 'Transubstantiation.'

"We believe that, in the Holy Eucharist, by virtue of the Consecration, through the Power of the HOLY GHOST, The Body and Blood of our Saviour CHRIST, 'the inward part,

or Thing signified,' are Present, really and truly, but Spiritually and ineffably, under 'the outward visible part or sign,' or 'form of Bread and Wine.'"

"(2) We repudiate the notion of any fresh Sacrifice, or any view of the Eucharistic Sacrificial offering as of something apart from the One All-sufficient Sacrifice and Oblation on the Cross, Which alone 'is that perfect Redemption, Propitiation, and Satisfaction for all the Sins of the whole world, both original and actual,' and Which alone is 'meritorious.'

"We believe that, as in Heaven, CHRIST, our Great High Priest, ever offers Himself before the Eternal FATHER, pleading by His Presence His Sacrifice of Himself once offered on the Cross; so on Earth, in the Holy Eucharist, that same Body, once for all sacrificed for us, and that same Blood, once for all shed for us, Sacramentally Present, are offered and pleaded before the FATHER by the Priest, as our LORD ordained to be done in Remembrance of Himself, when He instituted the Blessed Sacrament of His Body and Blood.

"(3) We repudiate all 'adoration' of 'the Sacramental Bread and Wine,' which would be 'idolatry;' regarding them with the reverence due to them because of their Sacramental relation to the Body and Blood of our LORD: we repudiate also all adoration of 'a Corporal Presence of CHRIST's Natural Flesh and Blood,'—that is to say, of the Presence of His Body and Blood as they 'are in Heaven.'

"We believe that CHRIST Himself, really and truly, but Spiritually and ineffably, Present in the Sacrament, is therein to be adored."

From a declaration signed by Liddon, Pusey, Mackonochie, and eighteen other leading Churchmen, and published as Appendix F. in the First Report of the Royal Commission on Ritual, 1867.

APPENDIX B.

“What think ye of Christ? Whose Son is He?” Till that question is answered in each one of us, there is no rest and no strength for any man. If we set out in the race of life without answering it, we are the sport of every passing wind, in the deepest interests and the highest destinies of our being. Every word breathed against the authority of a divine revelation or the reality of a divine inspiration is enough to topple down the whole fabric of a traditional faith, and to destroy the sand-built habitation of a conventional hope. Happy is the man who has so assured himself, by God’s grace, of the mission, the truth, and the Divinity of his Saviour, that he can consider every other question, whether of opinion or practice, under His guidance, in His presence. Then, if he has anything to modify, by later experience or deeper reflection, in his first ideas of theology, whether in regard to the relation of Scripture to science, or of the human to the divine element in inspiration, he does so under CHRIST’s direction, and is a believer and a Christian still. Perhaps, if he looks more closely into the matter, he will find that what is supposed adverse to the Bible is in reality in perfect harmony with it, and will eventually turn to it for a testimony. He will not be forward to surrender without reason, but neither will he be perverse in retaining against reason, any supposed outwork of the truth he loves. His faith in CHRIST Himself, the result first of enquiry, and then secondly of intercourse—of carefully noting the evidences of the Gospel, and then of daily communing with the Saviour Whom the Gospel reveals—is built upon a ‘rock that is’ indeed ‘higher than he,’ at whose feet the storms of controversy may spend themselves, but upon whose head, through all time, the ‘Eternal Sunshine settles.’”¹

¹ *University Sermons, New and Old*, by C. J. Vaughan, D.D., pp. 59, 60.

APPENDIX C.

"On this serious subject, there is often a singular confusion between limitation of knowledge and the utterance through ignorance of that which is in fact untrue. If our LORD as *Man* did not know the day and hour of the judgment (*S. Mark* xiii. 32), He did not as *Man* claim to know it. Had He told us that the real value of the books of the Old Testament was hidden from Him, or had He never referred to them, there would have been no conflict between modern so-called 'critical' speculations and His Divine authority. But if the Apostles "beheld His glory," 'full,' not only 'of grace,' but 'of truth' (*S. John* i. 14); if, on the one hand, He knew what was in man (*S. John* ii. 25), and, on the other, as the Only Begotten SON which is in the bosom of the FATHER, 'declared' Him Whom no man hath seen at any time (*S. John* i. 18), is it conceivable that He could say, 'Moses wrote of Me' (*S. John* v. 46), in utter ignorance of the (presumed) fact that the book to which He was principally alluding (*Deut.* xviii. 13, 14; but cf. also *Gen.* iii. 15; xii. 3; xviii. 18; xxii. 18; xlix. 10) was really compiled by a "dramatizing" Jew in the reign of Josiah; or that He could have referred to *Ps.* cx., as He is reported in *St. Mark* xii. 36; *S. Luke* xx. 42 (in *S. Matthew* he is reported as less directly asserting the Davidic authorship, xxii. 42-46), if that psalm never really existed before the date of Simon Maccabæus?

"The hypothesis that, in consequence of imperfect information, our LORD taught erroneously on the subject of the historical worth of the Old Testament history, appears to be inconsistent with the Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation as asserted by the Church against Nestorius. According to that doctrine, all the acts and words of the One CHRIST are the acts and words of GOD the SON, although performed and uttered through the Human Nature which He assumed (cf. Labbé and Cossart, *Conc.* III. 408, anath. 4). Erroneous teaching is as little compatible with the Union of His two Natures in a single, and

that a Divine, Person, as is sinful action (S. Thomas, *Summ.*, pt. iii. quæst. xv. a. 3). Language is sometimes used which appears to imply that, unless our LORD's Human Intellect was not only limited in knowledge but also liable to error, He did not assume 'a true human nature.' But this is to forget the very purpose with which He condescended to become Man. As Hooker observes, "the very cause of His taking upon Him our nature was to better the quality and to advance the condition thereof, although in no sort to abolish the substance which He took, nor to infuse into it the natural forces and properties of His Deity" (*Ecc. Pol.*, V. liv. 5). And thus 'to be the Way, the Truth, and the Life'; to be the Wisdom, Righteousness, Sanctification, Resurrection; to be the Peace of the whole world, the Hope of the righteous, the Heir of all things; to be that Supreme Head whereunto all power in heaven and earth is given,—these are not honours common unto CHRIST with other men; they are titles above the dignity and worth of any which were but a mere man, *yet true of Christ even in that He is Man*, but Man with Whom Deity is personally joined and unto Whom it hath added these excellences which make Him more than worthy thereof" (*Ib.*). It is in accordance with this principle that the Church has hitherto believed Him to be an infallible Teacher, and especially when He is touching on matters which, like the Old Testament Scriptures, directly concern God's revelation of Himself to man. To say that He shows no signs of transcending the historical knowledge of His age is to imply that He shared with the rabbis around Him grave errors respecting the real worth of the Old Testament literature, and that He was in this respect inferior to modern scholars who take the negative side in questions of Old Testament criticism. To assert that, while thus imperfectly informed, He used and sanctioned the Old Testament as He did, is to go further: it is to imply that, as a Teacher of Religion, He was a Teacher of error.

"Those persons who unhappily have persuaded themselves

that this is the case, and yet happily shrink from rejecting His authority altogether, sometimes attempt to save themselves by projecting a distinction between critical or historical and spiritual truth. If He was in error respecting the historical value of the Pentateuch or Daniel, He could not, they think, err in what He tells us as to the Nature of God or the duty of man. But such persons must know that at this hour His authority in these spiritual matters is as fiercely challenged as in those questions which they somewhat arbitrarily describe as 'critical.' And He Himself has taught us that we must receive His teaching as a whole, if we are to receive it at all. 'If I have told you earthly things and ye believe not, how shall ye believe, if I tell you of heavenly things?' (S. *John* iii. 12).¹

¹ From Footnote to Sermon on "The Worth of the Old Testament."

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